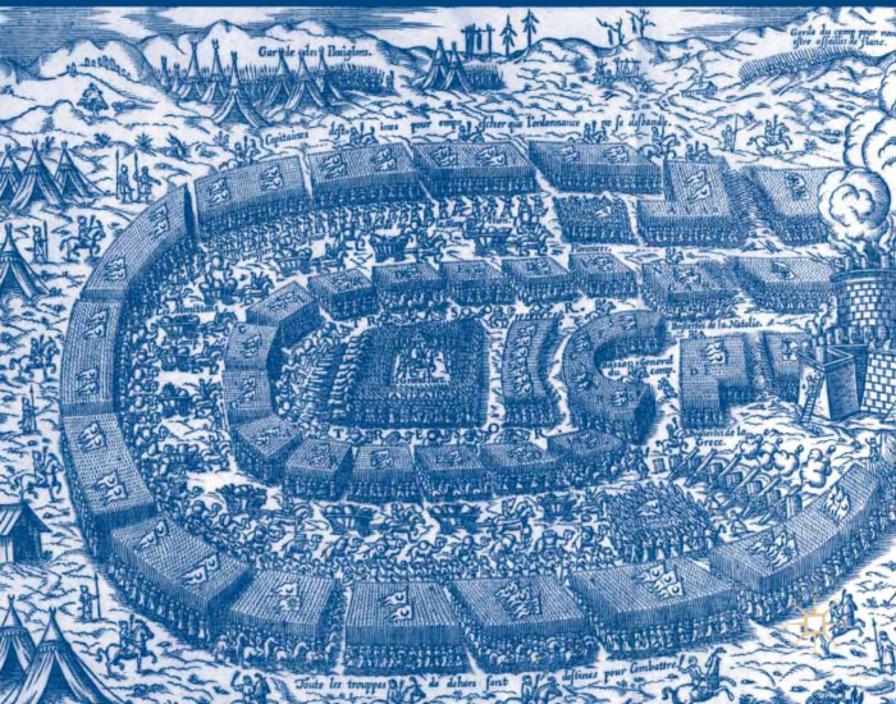
# The Sultan Speaks

## DIALOGUE IN ENGLISH PLAYS AND HISTORIES ABOUT THE OTTOMAN TURKS

Linda McJannet



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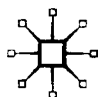

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# Preface

Since I began to study the Ottomans as depicted in early modern English plays and their sources, I have increasingly felt a connection between my academic concerns and the headlines. My first such experience occurred during the Balkan wars of the 1990s, as I was reading *The Couragious Turke*, a university play depicting the conquest of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Murad I. The play dramatizes his victory at Kosovo in 1389 and his subsequent assassination by a wounded Serbian soldier, events to which Slobodan Milosevic frequently referred in his efforts to inflame Serbian Christians against Muslims in the former Yugoslavia. "So," I exclaimed to myself, "that's why they're Muslim!" Apparently, the Ottoman presence in Eastern Europe had not loomed large in my college courses on European history, and I suspect that for most students since then the omission was not remedied until after September 11, 2001, if indeed it has been remedied at all. Another echo was sounded when, to the dismay of many observers, President George W. Bush responded to the attacks of September 11 by using the term "crusade." I was also struck by the similarities between the martial rhetoric in histories and plays about the Turks, and the saber-rattling on both sides before the first Gulf War and before the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March, 2003. In a sixteenth-century English play about Selim I, Selim's brother and rival for the throne instructs his captains to "Summon a parley to the citizens/ That they may hear the dreadful words I speak/ And die in thought before they come to blows."[1] To anyone who watched CNN (or any network) in the days before the bombardment of Baghdad, Selim succinctly describes the goal of the rhetoric of "shock and awe." A child of the Vietnam era, I am encountering for the first time in the American media a view of war and warriors analogous to that in Elizabethan conqueror plays. A thorough study of histories and plays about the Ottomans, I reasoned, was a worthy project in itself and might shed light on the discourse of our own day.

As I read the nearly forty extant plays and dramatic entertainments from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that feature specifically

Ottoman (as opposed to Moorish or generically Muslim) characters, I found myself unsatisfied by the analysis of the "proto-Orientalist" attitudes that the texts were presumed to have reinforced in their various audiences.[2] Richmond Barbour, Jonathan Burton, Ivo Kamps, Jyotsna Singh, Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, and others have helped modern readers distinguish early modern attitudes from the Orientalism so influentially defined and analyzed by Edward Said. Nonetheless, the prevailing view could still be summed up by Matar's own assertion that in England, as in Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy, "the stereotype developed in literature" (specifically dramatic literature) and religious discourse "played the greatest role in shaping the anti-Muslim national consciousness":

> Government documents, prisoners' depositions, and commercial exchanges show little racial, sexual, or moral stereotyping of the Muslims. . . . It was plays, masks, pageants, and other similar sources that developed in British culture the discourse about Muslim Otherness. . . . Eleazar and Othello [became] the defining literary representation of the "Moor," and Bajazeth, Ithamore, and Amureth of the "Turk."[3]

It seemed to me then, as it does now, that the contribution (positive or negative) of dramatists to the English image of the Turk can best be assessed by looking at what they did with their sources. A comparison of the heroes of Shakespeare's *Othello* or Marlowe's *1, 2, Tamburlaine* with the comparable figures in the sources of each play, I submit, does not support Matar's provocative assertion. While I accept Ania Loomba's dictum that "saving English literature" is a lost cause, I worry that in our scholarly need to generalize, to arrive at a "bottom line" about cultural matters, we may erase the evidence of contrary views and reify as natural and inevitable the very prejudices and ideological constructs we wish to dismantle. As historians have pointed out, before Milosevic could mobilize allegedly deep-seated and ineradicable animosities between Muslims and Christians in Bosnia and elsewhere, he had to silence or eliminate (by murder, imprisonment, and exile) Serbs who wished to live in peace with those of other religions and who had done so more or less successfully for generations. While Loomba herself and the other scholars listed above have done much to provide more nuanced accounts of western constructions of the east, there is significant work left to do.

I focus my investigation on English plays about Turkish history and their sources. In Turkish history plays, many or all of the characters

are Turks, so there is inevitably a wider spectrum of representation than in a play like *Muleasses, the Turke* (1607) in which the "Turkish" character (an Iago-like villain) is an embittered alien in a western setting. Since the plays focus on specifically Turkish (rather than generically Muslim or ambiguously "Moorish") themes, they illuminate a specific thread in western discourses of the east. Moreover, since these plays are based on extant historical sources, one can readily assess the dramatists' specific interventions. A focus on history plays also complements the work of Jean E. Howard and others on plays about piracy and the Levant trade, such as *A Christian Turn'd Turke* and *The Renegado*, the second genre in which Ottoman and generically Muslim themes appear.[4] Finally, history plays usually highlight the figure of the sultan as the embodiment of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman culture, thus providing a convenient (though not exclusive) focus for analysis.

My initial hypothesis was that, given the relative infrequency with which the sultans "spoke" in the sources prior to the publication of Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* in 1603, the need to invent dialogue for them in dramatic works might have permitted—even encouraged—playwrights to challenge the stereotypes present in histories and travel writing. In the event, my research revealed a more complicated picture. Not only were the practices of western historical writers more varied than I had supposed, but translations of eastern histories (works originating in Greek, Arabic, and Turkish) also played an important and hitherto unappreciated role. These texts complicated the versions of Ottoman history available to western readers and (paradoxically) modeled how the Ottomans' words might be used against them.

Consequently, the present study analyzes the reception in England of eastern (and western) histories about the Ottomans and the use of dialogue in these works and in English plays about Ottoman history. The two phenomena may appear unrelated, but they are connected in several ways. The historical sources initially consisted of western scholars dialoguing with each other about the Ottomans. However, when western scholars began to translate Greek, Arabic, and Turkish histories, they entered into dialogue with their eastern counterparts (Orthodox and Muslim). Their prefaces grapple with the different view of events—and the world—contained in their sources, and their editorial practices reveal at least an initial willingness to let the other have his or her say. Consequently, the writing of Turkish history became less monologic in the general sense elaborated by Mikhail Bakhtin and his circle. Second, while the preeminence of dialogue in

drama distinguishes the plays from their sources, after mid-century, dialogue began to play an increasingly prominent role in narratives circulating about the Ottomans, and the speeches were sometimes drawn from eastern texts. Thus, the dialogue attributed to the sultan and other Ottoman notables was in part the product of the scholarly dialogue alluded to above. Moreover, during the period under consideration, it appears that the writing of popular history (as opposed to the archival projects of antiquarians like William Camden) became "narrativized"; that is, historians aimed increasingly to present real events with the vividness and completeness of a fictional work. While the narrative techniques of early modern histories do not exhibit the degree of polyphony that Bakhtin admired in the modern novel, their use of dialogue and commentary provides a fascinating index of this historiographical trend.

In an influential essay, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivack asked, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[5] I propose to ask analogous but quite different questions about early modern representations of the Ottomans. The issue is not whether the sultan might have a voice, but in what way and to what effect his powerful, even fearsome voice—and by extension his deeds, his character, and the empire he governed—was represented in western historical discourse and drama, and to what extent his own chronicles were used to craft these representations. The chapters that follow seek to answer these questions.

## A NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTION OF OTTOMAN PROPER NAMES AND OF EARLY MODERN TEXTS

In referring to the Ottoman sultans as historical figures, I will use the Romanized version of the Ottoman form of their names as found in Stanford Shaw's *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (2 vols., 1976–1977): Murad, Suleyman, Mehmed, and Bayazid. In citing European and English texts, I will use the names given them by the particular writer. Except for these proper names, I have silently modernized spelling and punctuation in extracts from all early modern texts. The Byzantine, Arabic, and Turkish works I discuss are necessarily cited in modern English translations, and canonical plays, such as *Tamburlaine*, are available in excellent modern editions. It seemed desirable that Fulke Greville, Richard Knolles, and other early modern writers should not appear more distant or quaint than Marlowe or Laonikos Chalkokondyles, whose history was written ca. 1470–1490. Where an element of the text is

ambiguous or problematic, I have retained it and offered possible readings in brackets. For bibliographic reasons, however, in reproducing the titles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English texts I have retained original spelling and capitalization but modernized typography (long s, u/v, and i/y/j).

# Acknowledgements

In pursuing this project over almost ten years, I have incurred many debts that are a pleasure to acknowledge. Portions of chapters 4 and 5 appeared in a different form in *English Literary Renaissance* 36.3. I thank the editors for their kind permission to incorporate that material here. For sabbaticals during which I began and concluded my research, I wish to thank two department chairs, Bruce Herzberg and Maureen Goldman, and the members of the Bentley College Teaching and Scholarly Activities Committee. The librarians of the Houghton Library at Harvard University were unfailingly generous and knowledgeable. Many colleagues gave me useful feedback at the research seminars held during the annual meetings of the Shakespeare Association of America and at the Shakespearean Seminar at the Humanities Center at Harvard. I am particularly grateful to Jean E. Howard, Richmond Barbour, Suzanne Wofford, Edmund V. Campos, William Carroll, and Coppélia Kahn for timely comments and encouragement that meant more than they may have realized at the time. Virginia Mason Vaughan, Richmond Barbour, Jonathan Burton, and Bernadette Andrea generously shared prepublication versions of their work, and Marcia Folsom and Michelle Ephraim offered valuable scholarly advice and support. In addition, I am indebted to several colleagues and friends who read chapters of this book in draft form (and who may hardly recognize the revised versions thereof). A mentor and friend over many decades, G. Blakemore Evans read early drafts, as did Virginia Mason Vaughan, Jonathan Burton, Bernadette Andrea, Caroline Hibbard, and Jane Bachner. The reader for Palgrave Macmillan and Arthur F. Kinney and the editorial board of *English Literary Renaissance* were both generous and rigorous in their responses to the manuscript. I owe a debt of gratitude for all their comments and suggestions; shortcomings and errors that remain are entirely my own. Finally, I thank those closest to me, who honored my nonlinear creative process and tolerated my obliviousness to clocktime when thus engaged. To my daughters Lisa and Amanda Micheli, to Michael O'Shea and his daughters Jocelyn and Bethany, who all have creative projects of their own, this book is dedicated with love and admiration.

# Introduction

According to Rana Kabbani, author of a study of nineteenth-century travel narratives, “post-Crusader Europe would never wholly emerge from the antagonism [of] its ‘Holy Wars.’ ” As late as 1920, she reports, the French general Gourand, on arriving at the tomb of the famous Saracen leader in Damascus, “announced gloatingly, ‘*Nous revoilà, Saladin*!’ ”[1] Edward Said once asserted that the roots of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Orientalism can be traced to antiquity,[2] but critics since have challenged the existence of so sweeping and persistent a cultural binary. One author heatedly described Said’s project as “Oriental[ism]-in-reverse,”[3] while another argued that even Orientalism itself was not monolithic; rather, different “Orientalist modes were constructed in different times and places in Europe.”[4] Said himself later demonstrated that when a theory “travels” it is often “reduced, codified, and institutionalized,” especially when applied to social moments and texts other than those which gave rise to it,[5] and some have seen the reception of *Orientalism* itself as a “spectacular and depressing instance” of such “traveling theory.”[6] A number of scholars have shown that Old French *chansons de geste* and Italian Renaissance epics alike “had a long tradition of respect for certain Saracens” and conspicuously lack “a sense of European superiority over Turks and Arabs.”[7] Overall, scholars of the early modern period, while benefiting greatly from Said’s insights, have attempted to differentiate both the early modern historical context and its discourses from the Orientalism Said described.[8]

## The Ottomans and Europe: Conquest, Ideology, and Commerce

In the early modern period, the Ottoman Turks were the dominant imperial power in the Eastern Mediterranean and much of Eastern Europe.[9] By the seventeenth century, they controlled Hungary, the Balkans, Greece, Istanbul and the Anatolian Peninsula, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the North African littoral from Alexandria to the border of Morocco.

They were a European power even before Constantinople fell to Mehmed II in 1453. Murad I conquered parts of Thrace and moved his capitol to Hadrianople in 1369. He defeated the Serbs at Kosovo in 1389, and his son Bayazid I overcame a combined Christian army on the Danube in 1396. Ottoman powers prevailed again at Varna in 1444 and at the second battle at Kosovo in 1448. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Mehmet II annexed Serbia (1454–1455) and took Morea from Venice (1458–1460).

Suleyman the Magnificent (reigned 1520–1566) led several successful European and Mediterranean campaigns. Belgrade was conquered in 1521, and Rhodes fell the next year. He was victorious at Mohács in Hungary in 1527, and parts of Wallachia and Transylvania came under Ottoman suzerainty. Suleyman besieged Vienna in 1529 (without success), but his military and diplomatic strategies achieved a standoff with the Hapsburgs until Hungary, too, was annexed in 1541. The Turks took Cyprus in 1570, and a Christian fleet enjoyed a rare victory at Lepanto in 1571, but from 1575–1590, the sultans were chiefly engaged in the east, notably in a prolonged and bitter war with Persia. The empire experienced the first assassination of a reigning sultan in the early seventeenth century, followed by a brief revival under Murad IV (reigned 1623–1640). But after Mehmed IV's unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683 and the defeat at Zenta, the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) effectively provided for the Ottoman withdrawal from Europe. The vestiges of Ottoman system ended only with the revolution of Kemal Ataturk in 1923 and the abolition of the Sultanate. In the early modern period, however, the Ottomans were seen as masters of a sophisticated and ably administrated empire. As Barbara and Charles Jelavich have remarked:

> The negative opinion often held of Ottoman civilization is usually based on judgments made in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the state was in a period of obvious decline. In the 15th and 16th centuries, however, Ottoman institutions may have offered the Balkan Christian a better life than he had led previously.[10]

For the early modern English reader, the Sultan might be "the Terror of the World," but he had never been the "sick man of Europe."

During the Renaissance, learned opinion was divided on how Christendom should respond to its Islamic rivals in the east, particularly with respect to the morality of war against them. As Timothy Hampton observes, "Opinion varied . . . from the claim that the Turks must be wiped out through a new crusade, to the notion that they

were a scourge sent by God to teach Christian Europe about its own sins."[11] In *De bello Turcico* (1530), Erasmus represented the Turks as sensualists capable of monstrous cruelty toward Christian captives, but in his *Adagia* (or *Adages*, 1515) he praised their piety: they are "to a great extent half-Christian, and probably nearer true Christianity than most of our own people." Further, as Hampton points out, he repeats "this astonishing phrase" in the later work.[12] Alberico Gentili, an expatriate scholar at Oxford, repeated the Christian humanist view of unprovoked war with the Turks, namely that men's consciences cannot be forced, that Muslim and Christian communities alike are included in the *societas gentium*, and that the law of nations gives the Ottomans as clear a title to their dominions as Christian dynasties have to theirs. Were the Turk to keep the peace one could not legitimately oppose him, but, Gentili goes on, "when do the Turks act thus?"[13] Gentili's complaint is not without foundation; like most imperial powers, the Ottoman Empire depended upon expansion. Conquest provided recruits (voluntary and involuntary) for the army and the bureaucracy, and it provided the land (preferably that of non-Muslims) with which to pay them.[14] Ultimately, Gentili's position is ambiguous: the Turks share a "common nature" with the English, but because of geopolitics and history they become an almost "natural enemy."[15]

While confrontation between east and west encouraged ideologies of difference, myths of common origins also wielded significant power. Although variously interpreted (and misinterpreted), the Bible views all peoples as descended from the sons of Noah.[16] European Christians were conscious of drawing upon a long and still vital tradition of Eastern learning. They viewed the Fertile Crescent as the birthplace of many advances in human culture.[17] The primacy of Arabic treatises in mathematics, medicine, and alchemical "science" was well recognized. Gower praises Avicenna in his poem "Upon the Philosopher's Stone"; portraits of the father of alchemy, Hermes Trismegistus, frequently showed him in a turban, amid similarly turbaned Arab scientists.[18] Rosicrucian writings as well as alchemical treatises merged Arabic wisdom with Christian philosophy and theology. As Europe rediscovered classical works (thanks in large part to their preservation by the Arabs), ancient eastern history was "naturalized" and assimilated to the Renaissance imagination. Within the classical tradition, the east already had complex and contradictory meanings, ranging from the admiring portrait of Cyrus in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* to the Roman suspicion of Antony with his "Asiatic" habits and his liaison with Cleopatra.[19] The ancients, too, had their

myth of shared origin: the princess Europa, to whom Europe owes its name, was a Phoenician.[20] Early modern Britain was proud, on the slim thread of imagined etymology, to trace the founding of Britain to Trojan "Brute," who like Aeneas was supposed to have traveled west from the ruins of Troy in Asia Minor.

The east had primacy in universal history. It was the Holy Land of divine providence and the model of legitimate earthly empire. John Speed's *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1627), the earliest atlas compiled in English, gives "Asia the prerogative, as well for worth as time." "Europe," he explains,

> shall not want her due, in her due place. . . . But in Asia did God himself speak his miraculous work of the Creation. There was the Church first collected; there was the Savior of the world born. . . . And if we should compare her to the rest, in that earthly glory of kingdoms, empires, and nations, which sounds fairest to men's sense, she would still keep her rank.[21]

The tradition of the so-called Four Monarchies, alluded to above, identified a succession of empires from the earliest times to the Christian era.[22] Typically, the list included the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greco-Macedonian, and the Roman empires. According to this tradition, these "monarchies" were divinely sanctioned by God to provide order in a fallen world, and their excesses were sometimes justified as punishment for human sin. The Roman Empire was further seen as having provided the *pax Romana* into which Christ was born and under whose somewhat sheltering umbrella the Christian religion would take root and ultimately be adopted by the state. Thus, in aspiring to imperial status themselves, western kingdoms were emulating the east, as Rome had before them. For them, "empire" was not a dirty word. Even General Gourand's words, quoted earlier, emphasize ancient rivalry rather than "gloating"; they convey that mixture of competitiveness and respect with which military leaders often speak of opponents they honor. "*Nous revoilà*" ("Here we are again" or "We meet again") stresses the shared "we" of mighty opposites, not the "I" of domination or victory (compare Julius Caesar's first person emphasis: "*Veni, vidi, vici*").

Although military and political conflicts persisted, commerce often throve along the coastal cities and from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. Kabbani asserts that between the Islamic conquest (ca. 675 CE) and the emergence of the Carolingian empire in 800 CE, "the Mediterranean gradually changed . . . from being a channel of

commercial and cultural intercourse into a barrier to movement of most sorts save the openly piratical"; consequently, "the East seemed more and more the enemy."[23] During the Crusades, certainly, this enmity became a violent reality, but the Crusades themselves were a major stimulus to east-west exchange. Art historians have traced the so-called Gothic arch to its Arabic origins. Sir Christopher Wren, architect of St. Paul's, wrote that the Gothic style was really the "Saracen style: for those people wanted neither arts nor learning; and after we in the west had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabic books."[24] Highlighting portrait medals, tapestries, and equestrian art, Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton have shown that trade between Europe and the Ottomans created a shared imperial iconography as well as political and economic relationships.[25]

In any event, during the Renaissance, more or less peaceful east-west trade recommenced. In 1536, as the Ottoman armies clashed with Charles V in Hungary, Suleyman granted France the right to trade in Ottoman lands and required all other European merchants to seek its permission and protection. The French operated largely under French law and were granted other privileges. Elizabeth I recognized the benefits of alliance with the Ottomans, both to counter the power of Catholic Spain in the Mediterranean and to gain access to the Levant trade. In the late 1570s, she corresponded with Murad III, pointing out that she (like the Great Turk) was an enemy of "all kind of idolatries."[26] Formal diplomatic relations were established in 1581, including an English representative in Istanbul, trading privileges, and legal protection for English merchants in Turkish territories. The Levant Company received a base in Smyrna, and in 1583, the first English trading mission arrived in Aleppo. On several occasions, Elizabeth appealed to Murad for redress of grievances (such as the taking of a ship by pirates). In 1599, she dispatched craftsman Thomas Dallam to Istanbul with a fabulous mechanical organ as a present for Mehmed III. (Dallam's diary survives, though it was not published till 1893.)

By 1595, the Levant Company had 15 ships furnished with 790 seamen engaged in trade with Alexandria, Cyprus, Chios, Sante, Venice, and Algiers and the numbers grew steadily.[27] Consequently, actual encounters between English people and Muslims, whether in the context of diplomacy, commerce, or captivity, were by no means infrequent. A Briton was far more likely to encounter a Muslim than a Native American or a sub-Saharan African.[28] In the seventeenth century, Britons took up coffee-drinking in establishments frequently dubbed "the Turk's Head" and adorned with the bust of Murad IV

(who ironically had opposed coffee-drinking and closed coffee houses in his dominions).[29] In 1589, Richard Hakluyt defended the Levant trade but noted ironically that several imported products, such as apples, wheat, barley and rye, were already considered "English," and, in a stunning reminder of the transferability of symbols as well as commodities, Mary C. Fuller points out that the English national flower, the "damascene" or damask rose, is originally from Damascus.[30] Symbols of identity and difference often point to the historical facts of exchange, appropriation, and mingled roots.

In restoring to ourselves this important aspect of early modern cultural and political history, we may allow our own excitement at the discovery to exaggerate the sense of western "anxiety" or "panic" regarding Islam or the Ottoman Empire. As Robert Boerth put it, "troubled by internal conflicts and disunity and in search of a coherent cultural identity . . . [Europeans] saw in the Turkish Empire a model to emulate as well as an enemy to be kept at bay."[31] English newsbooks of the period do not portray the Turks more negatively, or in substantially different terms, than Catholic adversaries.[32] Alarm at Ottoman expansion was frequently expressed by writers (notably religious polemicists) for whom it was either a genuine concern or a useful rhetorical strategy. For Roman Catholic writers, the Ottoman conquest of "proud Byzantium," for example, was cited as "proof of God's vengeance against schismatics," and thus implied a similar deserved fate for Protestants.[33] Turning the tables, Protestant writers blamed the fall of Constantinople on the perfidy of the Pope and Catholic powers, whose failure to aid the Byzantine Christians illustrated their corruption and apostasy from the true Church. But, as suggested above, diplomatic and trade relations grew despite military hostilities—witness the establishing of diplomatic relations with the Porte and the founding of the Levant Company in 1581, a mere decade after the Battle of Lepanto. The keynote of English attitudes toward the Ottomans was pragmatic ambivalence not ideological consistency. As the Turkish scholar Süheyla Artemel observed, English writers "adopted different attitudes, according to the circumstances and the demands of the work at hand" and drew on contradictory "attitudes and traditions which very often existed side by side."[34] In addition to being a cause for indignation and outrage, the Ottoman pressure on Europe and particularly Catholic Europe was for English Protestants, first, a fact of life, second, a welcome source of diplomatic leverage and economic opportunity, and, third, a rich vein for self-criticism.

## DIALOGUE AND POLYPHONY IN DRAMA AND NARRATIVE

With this historical context in mind, and drawing on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and his circle, I will take a dialogic approach to western historical discourse about the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. Broadly put, dialogism asserts the shared, interactive, and unfinalizable nature of language, and it posits particular, embodied utterances (not a language system) as the locus of all meaningful communication. It distinguishes between predominantly monologic and dialogic (or polyphonic) utterances and genres, and it privileges the latter. I will focus on dialogue in two senses: as a mode of literary representation and as a process of scholarly and cross-cultural exchange. As a mode of literary representation, dialogue and "reported speech" are the essence of drama and a staple of narrative works. Although speeches attributed to the Ottomans in plays and histories are my primary concern, I am also interested in the scholarly, cross-cultural dialogue that arises from the translation and circulation of texts about (and ultimately by) the Turks and other eastern peoples. This kind of dialogue occurs between author/translator and reader, between a translator and his text, and between one text and another.

### Dialogue and the Dialogic in Drama

In its simplest literary sense, dialogue is an exchange of words between two speakers, though I will broaden the term to include set speeches and direct (or indirect) quotations in which the interlocutor's response, if any, may not be represented. Dialogue is, of course, the defining medium of drama. As a rule, dramatic action and speech unfold in the here and now, unmediated by any extra-dramatic narrative voice.[35] Technically speaking, a character (even an Ottoman Sultan) addresses the spectator or reader on the same ontological footing as any other member of the *dramatis personae*. People may bring ethnic or social stereotypes to bear on their viewing or reading, and stock types may invite stock reactions, but as far as the play itself is concerned, each character has equal (direct) access to the audience. If a playwright wishes to influence audience reaction to a character, he or she may do so through choruses and other characters' comments or reactions, but these voices do not have, *a priori*, any greater authority than those they comment upon. Audience members must evaluate the claims of each character based on his or her words and actions, on their assessment of motives, and so on. Even an abstract, extra-dramatic

character such as Time in *The Winter's Tale* or the Chorus in *Henry V* lacks the authority that may be exercised by the implied author or the narrator of a novel or a history. A chorus contributes to the voices of the play, but it does not control them.

In arguing that an early modern drama might be dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense, I extend Bakhtin's concepts and insights further than he was prepared to do. Although he emphasized the dialogic nature of all language, he regarded polyphony as the distinguishing feature of the modern novel and genres influenced by it. His last writings soften this view somewhat, but for the most part he viewed dialogue in classical plays and earlier forms of narrative as inert and monologic.[36] Since drama lacks a narrator whose language embraces that of the characters, he argued, it cannot achieve polyphony; the speeches of the characters simply follow one another without true dialogic interpenetration or mutual modification.[37] Bakhtin celebrated heteroglossia, the incorporation of the dialects of different regions, classes, and professions, as one ingredient of a polyphony, but, he maintained, if the author fails to call attention to a character's dialect or use of jargon in and of itself, the effect is still monologic.[38] For Bakhtin, the presence of dialogue or heteroglossia alone was insufficient to make a text dialogic; the different voices must somehow be registered, digested, and commented upon, implicitly or explicitly, by an overarching sensibility, by the narrator or (I infer) by the characters themselves. If the speakers simply talk *at* one another, a truly dialogic exchange has not occurred.

Nonetheless, Bakhtin's theories seem congenial to the analysis of drama and especially early modern English drama. Bakhtin insisted that true dialogue required embodied speech, not abstract exercises in logic: "judgments must be embodied, if a dialogical relationship is to arise between them and towards them."[39] By guaranteeing that all views expressed in a work will be "embodied," spoken by a particular person in a particular situation, the drama would seem the prime genre for dialogic exchange. In addition, speeches in good plays do not merely "follow" one another. In the opening scene of *King Lear*, for example, one feels the intense circulation and exchange of verbal and emotional energy as the three daughters listen to each other, two trying to anticipate or outdo what the other might say; the third confiding her disgust in asides and steadfastly insisting on her "Nothing," even when her father ominously echoes her word ("Nothing will come of nothing."). In act 3 scene 3 of *Othello*, the hero is ensnared by Iago's ability to "dialogue" with Othello's unspoken fears about his marriage and to adopt the language of virtue, loyalty,

and moderation as if he believed it. Not all plays based on Turkish history display such dialogic mastery, but the Shakespearean examples demonstrate that drama is far from incapable of the effects Bakhtin admired in the modern novel.[40]

In addition, early modern dramatic conventions seem designed to set up dialogic relations between character/actor and the audience. The speaker of a soliloquy resembles a narrator addressing the reader, with the audience positioned as "superaddressee" (Bakhtin's ideal listener). He steps back from the action and represents himself and often comments on the words and motives of others. By definition, remarks delivered "aside" provide a verbal channel for a "sideways glance" between character and audience. In *King Lear*, Edmund's soliloquies adopt and parody the language of orthodoxy and superstition ("fine word 'legitimate,' " "O, these eclipses do portend these divisions!"). Hamlet similarly echoes, analyzes, and satirizes the language(s) and worldviews of other characters. In many of his speeches, whether dialogue, aside, or soliloquy, one can find the "sideways glance," the "invisible quotation marks," and the passionate self-consciousness that Bakhtin admired in Pushkin and Dostoevsky. From mordant puns ("a little more than kin and less than kind"), to oblique allusions ("Jeptha had a daughter"), to mockery of Osric's dueling jargon ("Is 't not possible to understand in another tongue?"), Hamlet's speech regularly displays the hallmarks of Bakhtinian polyphony. As for heteroglossia, one could point to the satiric display of professional and religious jargon in Jonson's *The Alchemist* (or any Jonsonian comedy) and to the language of Shakespeare's bumpkins, Irishmen, and Welshman, to whose dialects and social sensitivities they and others call attention (consider Captain Macmorris in *Henry V*: "Of my nation? What ish my nation?").

Bakhtin's views notwithstanding, most students of drama take it as a given that the genre is polyphonic, dependent upon clashing perspectives for its energy, and permitting the expression of views that the playwright may admire or abhor. That this notion is not merely a modern one can be seen in Thomas Newton's preface to his translation of Seneca. Newton criticizes those who would ascribe to Seneca the views of his (evil) characters. While "it is by some squeamish Areopagites surmised that . . . these tragedies . . . cannot be digested without great danger of infection," the reader must consider "why, where, and by what manner of persons, such sentences are pronounced"; such speeches, he asserts, cannot "at any hand be thought and deemed the direct meaning of Seneca himself, whose whole writings . . . are so far from countenancing vice" that a more moral author cannot be found.[41]

Newton believes that dramatic dialogue is genuinely dialogic and that it is up to the readers to sort out the truth of the matter themselves. As Bakhtin did in the case of the novel, Newton locates the author's view not in the words of any one character, but in the design of the whole work, as he understands it.

Although I disagree with Bakhtin's comments on drama and premodern narratives, I will rely on his insights about embodied speech and polyphony as I investigate early modern texts about the Turks.[42] I will also employ conventional rhetorical analysis (attention to voice and address, the use of particular tropes) and draw on recent work on narrativity and the writing of history.

## Dialogue, History, and Narrativity

Whereas dialogue is essential to drama, in narrative, it is a secondary element: "a narrating voice of some kind" subordinates or assimilates "dialogue and scene" to the act of narration.[43] Narrative theory (or narratology) is generally concerned with fictional genres,[44] but it can also illuminate the literary aspects of nonfiction narratives, such as histories and travel writing. Summarizing the "linguistic turn" in the philosophy of history, Hans Kellner suggests that older positivist views of history have been "joined, if not supplanted, by a focus on the historical work as a whole vision which draws its meaning from a plot and its authority from a voice."[45] Going further, Hayden White surveys three approaches to writing history and concludes that the "historian" (as opposed to the "annalist" or "chronicler") resembles a narrator in a fundamental sense: whereas the annalist may simply list events (seemingly randomly) as they occurred in God's good time and the chronicler may organize the events of a particular reign without reference to any overarching narrative or sense of closure, the historian is expected to "narrativize" history, to display real events with "the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary," and to assess their moral significance.[46] Kellner's and White's insights suggest that a history can and should be analyzed for its narrative strategies as well as for its factual content (if such a category be granted). In discussing nonfiction narratives about the Turks, I will attend closely to the ethos and rhetoric of the narrator, as well as to the tales he has to tell. This ethos may be constructed in the apparatus as well as in the body of the text: prefaces, marginalia, and endnotes are powerful sites for authorial commentary.

Although the goals of "coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure" and the emphasis on "moral significance" have been rejected by some historians in our own time, they were embraced (if not always achieved) by early modern historians. For them, moral significance was at the heart of the enterprise. In collections of historical anecdotes, the explicit purpose was to demonstrate a moral truth, as the titles of George Whetstone's *The English Myrror Wherein al estates may behold the Conquests of Envy* (1586) and Thomas Beard's *The Theatre of God's Judgement* (1597) clearly show. Full-length histories, too, were often unified by a religious or moral subtext.[47] Paraphrasing Cicero, Peter Ashton, translator of an Italian history of the Ottomans, wrote: "An history is the witness of times, the glass of truth, the keeper of remembrance, the guide of our lives, and a messenger and tidings-teller of all antiquity."[48] Historians like Machiavelli and Perondinus, who followed classical models, saw primarily secular forces (fortune and *virtù*) at work in human events while the Providential strain remained strong in the works of John Foxe, Richard Knolles, and others. My survey of histories of the Turks suggests that, whether secular or religious in their emphasis, the writers increasingly sought to produce the kind of vivid, narrativized account that White describes.

One technique for doing so was to include set speeches, dialogue, and memorable sayings. By representing the very words of historical figures, a historian increases verisimilitude and persuasiveness: he positions the reader as an aural witness to events. Further, as in drama, dialogue in a narrative "allows an author to reveal a wider range of ideas, emotions, and perspectives that would be possible with a single voice."[49] At the same time, dialogue and "reported speech" exemplify "the politics of quotations," the question of "how much of the other's meaning I will permit to get through when I surround his words with my own."[50] *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, a work once attributed to Bakhtin but now generally attributed to Valentin Voloshinov, a member of his circle, contains an insightful discussion of reported speech.[51] Voloshinov affirms that while dialogue "in the narrow sense" is only one form of "verbal interaction" it is "a very important" one.[52] Like Bakhtin, he distinguishes the "linear" handling of reported speech (preserving a quotation's integrity with quotation marks or other clear boundaries) from a more "pictorial" treatment (paraphrasing, fragmenting, digesting, or indirectly representing it, as the narrator of a polyphonic novel might do).[53] He acknowledges that the linear mode (the one most often encountered in the histories I will discuss) *may* result in "inert" or monologic reporting, but he also insists that it

provides "wide opportunity for the retorting and commenting tendencies of authorial speech."[54]

Drawing on these concepts, I hope to show that histories and utilitarian works on the Turks, as well as popular plays and closet dramas, engage in imaginative dialogue with Ottoman figures and Ottoman culture to a significant degree. A prime factor in this engagement was the translation of continental and eventually eastern sources about the Turks and their dissemination in England. I view these translations as instances of scholarly dialogue, initially among western Europeans, but ultimately between eastern and western writers.

## Translation as Dialogue

For most of the sixteenth century (and indeed up to our own day), works available in Western Europe necessarily represent the Ottomans from the outside. Few Europeans knew Ottoman Turkish or could read the Arabic script in which it was written. Turkish treatises were not printed,[55] and official documents would not have been accessible to outsiders.[56] For information about the Turks, western readers had to rely upon works by other Europeans: ethnographies, newsbooks, learned histories, and the accounts of former captives, private travelers, and diplomats, who drew on their experiences and on the knowledge of native informants, often mingling fact and fantasy.[57] Consequently, in most of these texts one finds westerners dialoguing with each other about the Turks, initially in Latin, but eventually via various vernacular translations. While I will compare the front matter of the sources and the translations, it is beyond the scope of this book to compare the two texts word for word. However, to the extent that the English translations reflect a specific sensibility, they are more, not less, useful as an index of English views of the Ottomans. Recent work in translation theory views the influence of culture on translation not as a pitfall to be avoided but as a phenomenon at the heart of the enterprise, to be studied in its own right.[58]

At mid-century, some new sources about the Ottomans became available. In 1556, Conrad Clauser translated a Byzantine account of the fall of Constantinople into Latin; a French translation appeared in 1577. In 1588, extended excerpts from a five-volume Turkish history were published, also in Latin. An allegedly Arabic life of Timūr (including his encounter with Bayazid I) appeared in French in 1595 and in English in 1597. Ahmad ibn Muhammed ibn Arabshah's *Timūr Nameh* was published in Arabic, with a Latin preface, in 1636 and in French twenty-two years later. A translator is, by definition,

engaged in cross-cultural dialogue, mediating between (as the theorists put it) "the source language/original" and the "target language/receptor."[59] However imperfect, a translation is a first step toward hearing the voice and glimpsing the perspective of a cultural other. While one must not mistake the translation for the thing itself, and while the reception of that voice and perspective is always problematic (issues that I will take up in more detail in chapter 4), these translations were Europeans' first opportunity to read accounts of the Turks by Orthodox and Islamic writers.[60] Consequently, Arab, Byzantine, and Turkish historical perspectives became available to educated western readers, and western scholars entered into dialogue *with* the Turks and other Muslims as well as dialoguing *about* them.

As it happens, extended quotation of the sultans—whether invented or purportedly historical—was relatively rare in the continental histories and anecdotal collections that circulated in English before mid-century, but the eastern sources are full of episodes in which the sultan and his generals spoke at length. They thus provided many examples of dialogue and set speeches—the other sense of "dialogue" with which I am concerned—that westerners could read and incorporate into their own works.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

The chapters that follow are organized both chronologically and thematically. I seek to trace the translation history of continental and eastern works about the Ottomans in England from the 1540's through the publication of Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* in 1603. However, several works I discuss (such as Greville's *Mustapha*) have afterlives, so I have carried the discussion past 1603 when it seemed useful to do so. Thematically, the book has two movements. Chapters 1–3 trace the use of dialogue and authorial commentary in continental sources circulated in England and culminate in a detailed comparison of the narrative and dramatic treatments of the story of Timūr and Bayazid, with an emphasis on Marlowe's innovations in *1,2 Tamburlaine*. Chapters 4–6 trace the transmission of Byzantine, Arabic, and Turkish histories and their influence on Knolles' *Generall Historie* and analyze representations of Suleyman and his son Mustapha in narrative and drama.

Before turning to particular works, chapter 1 historicizes the "raging Turk," a common trope in early modern commentaries, and explores early modern practice with regard to direct, indirect, and "narratized" speeches, previewing the subtle effects possible in each

mode. Chapter 2 examines continental histories of the Ottomans made available to English readers during the sixteenth century. The authors' and translators' prefaces provide a useful index of English attitudes towards the Turks, and the texts themselves illustrate the uses of dialogue in these genres. Chapter 3 considers Marlowe's Turks. It compares the representation of Bayazid I in continental histories and in *1, 2 Tamburlaine*, and it considers other dramatic representations of the sultan, including Selim Calymath in *The Jew of Malta*, up to 1600.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the influence of Greek, Arabic, and Turkish histories that became available in the latter decades of the sixteenth century. In chapter 4, I analyze how the disseminators of the Latin editions viewed their authors and the uncomfortable "truths" they offered, and I consider the interventions of later vernacular translators of these texts. Chapter 5 examines Knolles' landmark *Generall Historie* for its portrayal of Bayazid I and for its explicit citing of "the Turks' own chronicles," which I take to be the historiographical equivalent of letting the sultan speak. I trace Knolles' effort to balance "eastern" material with Christian commentary, and I speculate that the eastern versions of the story of Timūr and Bayazid may have suggested how to use the Turks' own chronicles against them. Chapter 6 compares the story of Suleyman and Mustapha in closet dramas and in their sources to show how the dramatists increasingly mitigate the sultan's culpability. The epilogue glances at the first direct English translation of a Turkish history, William Seaman's *The Reign of Sultan Orchan* (1652), a text that both contrasts with and foreshadows the later Orientalism described by Said and others.

My goal throughout is to recognize the moments at which western writers enter into dialogue with Ottoman civilization and construct more complicated images of the east. Early modern writers have been criticized for circulating and giving credence to ideas that were later used to justify imperialism, but they must also be credited with an imaginative engagement with others—however ambivalent—that was silenced or overwritten as England moved toward empire. Their eagerness to learn about the Ottomans and (if only imaginatively) to hear the sultan speak can resonate with the effort to repudiate the remnants of Orientalism in our own day and can encourage individuals to explore its lingering effects with a critical eye. I hope that this study may contribute, if only in a small way, to that goal.

# Chapter 1

# Preliminaries: Historicizing Rage and Representing Historical Speech

The rhetoric of alterity, of which Orientalism is one example, purports to describe entire peoples by means of abstract attributes in opposition to which the speaker can define himself or herself. It typically employs a relatively small number of tropes and discursive strategies: generalizations, epithets, asides, good/bad dichotomies, "exceptions to the rule," irony, and direct or indirect quotations. In themselves, these strategies are neutral, but they often serve to create and disseminate negative stereotypes. Generalizations may define the other as an undifferentiated group, characterized by innate, immovable, negative traits. They also establish the expertise of the commentator, both in relation to the (less informed) reader and in relation to the peoples described, who are objects of knowledge (rather than agents) and who may be portrayed as entirely knowable. Such generalizations are often expressed as asides or within parentheses, which adds a condescending tone and a sense of collusion with the reader. The essence of a generalization may be distilled into an epithet, such as "barbaric," "savage," "lazy," "backward," or "enigmatic." Culturally coded epithets may, in addition, describe the land of the other as "barren," "desolate," or "undeveloped" and thus in need of outside influence to become "civilized."[1] Also common are good/bad dichotomies (Good Indians/ Bad Indians) and the topos of "the exception that proves the rule," both of which harness the power of examples that run counter to the alleged norm in order to

reinforce that norm. "Bad" Indians or Muslims seem even worse when compared to the "good" ones. Irony may also be used to intensify criticism of the other, as when Andreas Cambini alleges that during the sack of Constantinople Mehmed II took both young men and women as sexual captives "for his own virtuous and cleanly usage."[2] Quoted dialogue or speeches, depending on how they are selected and presented, may also demonize or diminish cultural others.

In this chapter, I want to historicize a particular epithet, "the raging Turk," and the use of dialogue in historical texts. In early modern culture, rage was not always seen as inappropriate or reprehensible (an important factor to consider in assessing texts about the Turks), and early modern expectations regarding "set speeches" in a historical text were somewhat different from our own. The historicity of such speeches is not my primary interest, but their claim to a degree of "truth" or reliability affects their rhetorical and emotional power in a historical account. Finally, a review of the grammatical options for reporting speech and their relation to dialogic discourse (in the Bakhtinian sense) will supplement the theoretical distinctions discussed in the Introduction.

## "The Raging Turk": Historicizing a Cultural Epithet

Pejorative epithets associated with the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included "bloody," "cruel," and "barbarous." The Turks were compared to forces of nature (whirlwinds or floods) or beasts (wolves, vipers, boars) and depicted in bestial terms such as "unbridled" or "swarming." Their rule was described as "tyranny" or a "yoke." Patricia Parker has recently explored another set of terms derived from religious texts in which the Turks (and others) are labeled "preposterous," especially in the root sense of "regressive" (reversing the progress made from Old Testament to New, for example) or "backward" (literally, going about things "posterior [or backside] first").[3] Certain positive epithets were also common, such as "valiant," "brave," and "warlike," and the Turks were always admitted to exercise "excellent [military] judgment" and "severe justice."

Ethnic epithets are not the exclusive province of European writers, of course. The Arab historian Ahmed ben Muhammed ibn Arabshah describes with satisfaction Bayazid I's siege of the "wicked and infidel inhabitants of Stamboul [Constantinople]."[4] As the champion of Allah, Bayazid and his armies are "bold eagles" (176). Arabshah is fond of color symbolism: Bayazid "painted the green sea with the red

blood of blond Greeks, and split the black heart of every blue-eyed enemy with his black arrows" (177). Arabshah's epithets for Timūr and his armies often anticipate those that western Christians used to condemn the Turks: he is "that viper" whose "black deed[s]" (193) well become a member of a "black horde [an evil community or tribe]" (194). When Timūr tempts Bayazid's Tartar soldiers to betray their leader at the crucial moment, Arabshah compares him to "Satan when he calls men to wickedness" (179). After the victory, Timūr's soldiers pillage the countryside until they "had fully satisfied the lust of brigandage and the stream of that raging flood was filled with booty" (197).

The most common pejorative western stereotype for the Ottomans was "the raging Turk." Wittingly or not, the use of the term "Turk" was itself demeaning, since to the Ottomans it denoted a rude peasant, not a cultivated member of society.[5] Douglas A. Brooks has suggested that the prominence of personal attributes in some play titles (*The Raging Turk, The Couragious Turk*), as opposed to geographical identifying tags (*The Jew of Malta, The Moor of Venice*), also portrayed the Turks as a pervasive, unlocated, and expanding threat; since they were not anchored in a location, they were therefore difficult to avoid or contain.[6] The stereotype may even have influenced the English spelling of the sultans' names, turning "Murat" or "Murad" into "Amu(w)rath." The epithet was not a sixteenth-century invention, but as C.A. Patrides has demonstrated, the image of the "Bloody and Cruell Turke" was energetically deployed in both the anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant polemics of the day.[7] Nor has it faded from view: friends and acquaintances to whom I have described my project often say, "They [the Turks] were very cruel, weren't they?" (To which I respond, "Compared to whom?") Justified or not, the image of the cruel, raging Turk has endured for more than half a millennium, even into the twenty-first century, as modern Turkey, long a member of NATO, petitions for entrance into the European Union.

Epithets such as "the raging Turk" may seem by definition monologic, one-way barbs directed at a feared or hated enemy. But the epithet "raging" confirms Bakhtin's precept that even single words can be dialogic and that all words carry multiple meanings and associations.[8] The terms "rage" and "raging" are used in various senses by both modern and early modern commentators. For Anthony Parr, the phrase "the raging and expansionist Turk" denotes the fierceness and success of the Ottoman armies as they pushed westward into Europe and Africa.[9] This collective usage can also be found in sixteenth-century histories to describe Islamic expansion generally. Of the Arabic (or

Saracen) empire that preceded the Turks', Thomas Newton says, "the violent rage thereof was by . . . courageous [Christian] soldiers . . . from time to time either bridled or repressed."[10] In his appendix, Newton uses the same metaphor to opine that in his own day Christendom is still at risk from the Ottomans "unless the . . . providence of God . . . as with a snaffle rein this raging beast and bloody tyrant, the common robber of all the world."[11] Similar images of the Turks as collectively "raging" over the world could be cited from many other works.

The primary early modern sense of "raging," however, was "raving" or "furious madness" (see senses 1 and 2 in the *OED*, from the Latin *rabia*, "rabies"). This sense of the word conveys extreme, uncontrollable emotion—wrath, grief, frustration, or a combination of all three—often leading to violence, even self-destructive violence. Although the *OED* lists these older meanings as obsolete, they seem preserved in Samuel Chew's description of Marlowe's Bajazeth as "impotently raging"[12] and in Una Ellis-Fermor's reference to Bajazeth's rage as "futile defiance."[13] In this sense, rage is a sign not of military power and success, but of impotence and defeat. The prototype of rage in this sense is the figure of King Herod. Herod was rage personified, and his medieval dramatic representations gave rise to the expression "out-Heroding Herod." In the Coventry playwright's version of the Magi story, the king, having boasted of his omnipotence in the "or[i]ent," is furious to hear that the Magi have disobeyed his orders and secretly left the kingdom "by another way":

> A-nothur wey? owt! owt! owtt!
>
> Hath those fawls trayturs done me this de[e]d?
> I stampe! I stare! I loke all aboutt!
> Myght I them take, I schuld them bren at a glede [fire]!
> I rent! I rawe [run]! And now run I wode [mad]!
> A! thatt these velen trayturs hath mard this my mode!
> They shalbe hangid, yf I ma[y] cum them to! (lines 777–83)[14]

The stage direction superfluously specifies "*Here Erode ragis* [rages] *in the pagond* [the pageant wagon] *and in the strete also*" (line 784). The king then orders the slaughter of the innocents, a bloody but ineffectual response, since Mary, Joseph, and the infant Jesus have already been warned in a dream and made their escape. That Herod might be a model for later raging Turks is likely; in many medieval dramatizations of the story he, like the Pharaoh in the Exodus plays, is anachronistically portrayed as a follower of "Mahownde"

(Mohammed) and endowed with a Saracen or Turkish "fawcun" (falchion) and "gorgis arraye" (*Magi* line 511).[15] And, of course, Herod, the first persecutor of Christ, can be aligned with the Turks, the scourge of Christians.

The association of the Turks, Herod, and rage can be found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts, too. Newton, in his *Historie of the Saracens*, recalls Herod of the Coventry play when he describes the Turks as "stamping and staring for rage to see the Spaniards bear rule and authority in those quarters." Like Herod's, the Turks' collective frustration led to violent reprisals: "prively in the night, . . . [they] surprised Canisum, killing therein and slaying above a thousand persons."[16] *Guy of Warwick* (1593), a play portraying the fanciful deeds of a romance hero, also links Herod-like behavior and an angry Muslim sultan. Though the play is set in Saracen times (that is, before the rise of the Ottomans), the Sultan of Babylon bears a mocking and Turkish-sounding name, "Shamurath." When he is captured by the hero and denied ransom, the stage directions read "*The Sultan stamps*," and Guy mocks his captive in language that further associates him with Herod: "Nay, sir, I'll make you tear your Mahomet/and stamp and stare."[17] A slightly different link between the Turks and Herod is implied in 1614 by traveler William Lithgow, as he comments on the Turkish "law of succession" that allowed only one son to survive an old sultan's death: "Augustus Caesar said of Herod in the like case, it is better to be the Great Turk's dog than his son."[18]

In addition to biblical drama, however, educated English audiences were familiar with classical works in which rage was linked with capaciousness and nobility of spirit. The exemplar of rage in this sense was Hercules, especially as known to the Renaissance through Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, one of ten Senecan tragedies published in English by Thomas Newton (author of the Saracen history quoted above). As Eugene M. Waith argued some years ago, rage is essential to the "Herculean hero"; it is an aspect of his magnanimity, literally his "greatness of soul."[19] In one incident, Hercules kills his friend Iphitus in a drunken quarrel, but the defining example of his rage is the frenzy induced by the shirt poisoned with Nessus's blood, which his wife believed was a charm to regain his love. In his agony, the hero throws Lichas, who innocently delivered the shirt, into the sea and tears his own flesh in an effort to remove the tainted garment.

Both Herod and Hercules may exemplify destructive rage, but whereas Herod is a remorseless villain, Hercules evokes sympathy as a tragic figure, a great-souled man ensnared in a web of deception and revenge. To excuse deeds he claims to have done out of madness, the

sultan in Thomas Goffe's *Raging Turk* says he "play'd a raging Hercules."[20] But even where the allusion is not made explicit, rage in the Herculean sense might be an appropriate—even admirable—response to profound sorrow or injury. Shakespeare's early histories frequently depict sympathetic English characters embracing rage under certain circumstances. In reaction to Talbot's death, Lucy cries to the French, "O, were mine eyeballs, into bullets turn'd/That I in rage might shoot them at your faces" (*1Henry VI*, 4.7.79–80).[21] Lear also comes to mind, praying to be touched "with noble anger" rather than to shed womanish tears, though his supporters are relieved when the "great rage/ . . . is kill'd in him" by their ministrations (*Lear*, 2.4.276 and 4.7.77–78). Shakespeare parodies Herculean rhetoric in Bottom's sample of "Ercles' vein" ("a part to tear a cat in, to make all split," *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1.2.40 and 29), but set speeches expressing rage (or other extreme emotion) are a hallmark of early modern drama, whether written by masters like Marlowe and Shakespeare or by hacks who produced verses little better than those that Bottom naively admires.

Finally, as suggested in the quotation from Newton above ("the violent rage thereof was [repressed] by . . . courageous [Christian] soldiers"), rage was also linked (phonetically and experientially) with courage and heroic deeds of war. The concept is also captured in the Latin word *furor*, which could mean madness or insanity, but also "martial fury" (as well as passionate love and poetic or prophetic frenzy). Physically, rage occasions a surge of adrenaline and therefore lends itself to martial feats or other acts of bravery. The legendary wrath of Achilles manifests itself not only in his tent, where he broods over an injury, but also on the battlefield. Admiration for martial fury can be found in many early modern English texts. James I's poem on the Battle of Lepanto (ca. 1585, published 1591), represents the Ottomans as having been "inflamed [by Satan]/ With raging fire of wrath" against Christians, but he also depicts Admiral Ali Basha and his men as "Turkish Chieftains brave," whose "courage" the sound of the cannon and the cries of the dying "could not wound."[22] The Bastard of France expresses rueful admiration for the fury of Talbot's son: "How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging wood [i.e., "wode" or mad] / Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood!" (*1Henry VI*, 4.7.35–36). At Harfleur, Henry V urges his soldiers to "imitate the action of the tiger" and to "Disguise fair nature with hard-favor'd rage" (*Henry V*, 3.1.6–8). Marin Barleti, the biographer of Scanderbeg, invokes the "Poets" to suggest that a man "of a hardy and magnanimous spirit" may be "transported" in battle: before he

draws his weapon, he is "guided by reason"; but afterwards, "then only doth fury and choler guide him."[23] Strengthened by (righteous) fury, even an aged warrior like Lear could accomplish heroic deeds: "I kill'd the slave that was a-hanging thee," he tells the dead Cordelia (*Lear*, 5.3.275).

One of the earliest firsthand accounts of a European taken captive by the Turks also provides evidence of late medieval attitudes (eastern and western) toward rage in a warrior king. Johann Schiltberger, a young Bavarian soldier, was among those taken prisoner after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396. He served in the army of Bayazid I and later in that of Timūr and his sons. Returning to Bavaria in 1427, he dictated a memoir of his thirty years under various Muslim commanders. His memoir survives in manuscript copies, and printed editions appeared in Germany beginning in the 1470s, entitled *Hie vahet an d Schildberger [sic] der vil wunders erfaren hatt in der heydenschafft und in d türckey* ([The Travels?] of Schiltberger who experienced many wonderful things in heathen lands and in Turkey).[24] Often reprinted, this account was not translated until the Hakluyt Society's English version, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, in 1879.[25] However, German scholars, such as Johan Lewenklaw (disseminator of the Turkish annals in 1588), apparently drew on it heavily.[26]

Schiltberger describes two instances of rage on the part of a sultan. In the first, he relates "How the Turkish king treated the prisoners" after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, in which Bayazid I defeated a crusader army. In Schiltberger's account, when "King [B]eyasat . . . went to the battle-field and looked upon his people that were killed, he was torn by great grief, and swore he would not leave their blood unavenged." He ordered the execution of all prisoners over twenty years of age and insisted that the Duke of Burgundy be present, "that he [Burgundy] might see his vengeance" (4–5). When the Duke "saw his [the sultan's] anger, he asked him to spare the lives of several he would name; this was granted by the king" (5). A dozen lords were spared, but Schiltberger estimates that ten thousand soldiers were killed, many heroically heeding their leader's exhortation to "Stand firm" and die a martyr's death. Eventually, Schiltberger reports, "the king's counselors . . . [seeing] so much blood was spilled . . . fell upon their knees before the king, and entreated him for the sake of God that he would forget his rage, that he might not draw down upon himself the vengeance of God" (5).

Though Schiltberger, as is his habit, makes no overt comment on the incident, the story attests initially to the wrath of the sultan and to the noble martyrdom of the Christians. Unlike some later recorders of

this particular incident, however, Schiltberger portrays it not as business as usual for the Turks or as a cold and unfeeling strategy but as motivated by the sultan's "great grief" at the deaths of his own fighting men. While Schiltberger may have been shocked by the bloodshed and may have expected his readers to be shocked, too, he may also have viewed royal rage and bloody reprisals as something to be expected in war and therefore requiring little comment. Holinshed and Shakespeare represent a somewhat analogous incident—that of Henry's order to kill the prisoners during the Battle of Agincourt.[27] On the other hand, since Schiltberger testifies that the sultan's captains were shocked at the consequences of his rage, he could be seen as employing a double-barreled ethnic hyperbole: Bayazid was *so* bloody on this occasion that even the *Turks* were shocked. But while a reader might construe the passage this way, Schiltberger himself nowhere generalizes about the Turks and rage, nor does he use the phrase "the raging Turk." Taken on its own terms, his account both validates and qualifies the stereotype of the raging Turk. Bayazid's rage is bloody, but it arises from a partly noble emotion (grief over his casualties), and it is cut short by the intervention of God-fearing Turkish subordinates, who took action (perhaps at some risk to themselves) to restrain him.

A second incident in Schiltberger's account provides a perspective on rage after a battle. It suggests that rage might be have been seen (then as now) as a kind of temporary insanity, which it was a loyal subject's duty to ignore rather than to satisfy. Bayazid I found himself in conflict with his own brother-in-law to whom he had assigned the governorship of Caramania but who later tried to wrest the province from the sultan's control. Taken prisoner, the brother-in-law maintained a defiant attitude, which led Bayazid to ask "three times if there was anybody who would rid him of [C]araman" (8). A subordinate took it upon himself to carry out the sultan's apparent wish and brought him Caraman's head. Rather than rewarding him, Bayazid "shed tears" (8) and ordered the man's execution: "This was done because [B]eyasit thought that nobody should have killed so mighty a lord, but should have waited until his lord's [i.e., Bayazid's] anger had passed away" (9). Once again, Schiltberger makes no comment, but in this case, he seems to side with the sultan, acknowledging perhaps that a king might be forgiven for such an outburst and that subordinates should not be too eager to curry favor by taking such words literally.

The incident of Bayazid and Caraman closely resembles Henry IV's reaction to the murder of Richard in the last scene of Shakespeare's *Richard II*. The new king has apparently wished aloud that some "friend" would rid him of the deposed Richard. We do not witness his

speech to this effect, but Exton's servant claims to have heard the "very words" (5.4.3), and Bolingbroke does not deny it when Exton, who has taken him at his word, reminds him that "from your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed" (5.6.37). Unmoved, Bolingbroke responds:

> They love not poison that do poison need,
> Nor do I thee. Though I did wish him dead,
> I hate the murtherer, love him murthered. (5.6.38–40)

The two incidents exhibit both differences and similarities. Bolingbroke's moralizing on the event entails a franker and colder self-revelation than Bayazid's comment to his soldier: not wrath but "need" motivated Bolingbroke's spoken wish. On the other hand, his sentence is milder, not execution but exile. The latter difference would allow a western reader of the two texts to contrast the mildness of the Christian king with the severity of the infidel. As regards the two kings' motivations, however, some readers might prefer Bayazid's frank emotion to Henry's calculation of "need." These differences notwithstanding, both incidents clearly show the subtlety and treacherousness of palace (or battlefield) politics and the importance of reading a sovereign's will astutely. They also suggest that a Christian or a Muslim king might rashly (or calculatedly) wish for the death of a rival and find a subject willing to commit the act. To this extent, the Ottoman court might have seemed more familiar than alien to a European reader of Schiltberger.

As the passages above suggest, attitudes toward rage were complex in the early modern period, and as Barbara H. Rosenwein's anthology, *Anger's Past*, demonstrates, they evolved along similar lines in Christian and Muslim societies.[28] While ambivalence about the overt or excessive expression of anger existed then as it does now, in the sixteenth century aristocratic anger was often privileged, excused, or understood in ways unfamiliar to a modern reader. In Muslim and Christian societies alike, it was not always a given that mildness and mercy were more becoming to a ruler than severity and righteous wrath. Renaissance political theory held that a Christian king was supposed to display mercy and mildness and to restrain his wrath, but according to Norbert Elias, in practice this often meant that the state encouraged the repression of anger among its subjects in order to enhance "its own social control and [monopoly of] expressions of violence."[29] Or as others put it, "anger in the Latin West was . . . a sin, but a sin that could be turned into a virtue, [when] monopolized by the aristocracy."[30] Thus, early modern English culture remained

receptive to the notion that, as Kent says in defense of his behavior to Oswald, "anger hath a privilege" (*Lear*, 2.2.70). In premodern Muslim societies, anger was also subject to debate and evolving attitudes. Initially, as in the west, anger (especially anger on behalf of Allah) was the province of the monarch, much as it had been a part of the heroic personality of the Prophet in ninth century *hadīth* literature.[31] In later times, however, royal anger was supposed to be tempered by the practice of *hilm* or forbearance. According to Leslie Pierce, these concepts were influential in Ottoman times as well. In Tursun Beg's late fifteenth-century history:

> [T]he sultan's principal means of ensuring order was the judicious application of summary punishment [*seyasit*]; this right of the sultan over the lives of his subjects was itself a source of tyranny, however, if it was not exercised within the confines of the holy law, and not tempered with forbearance (*hilm*).[32]

The entreaties of Bayazid's counselors in Schiltberger's account are thus in keeping with a Muslim understanding of the need for restraint, apparently in dealing with enemies as well as one's own subjects. Another aspect of *hilm*, to be discussed more fully in chapter 4, encouraged emotional self-control and verbal sparring as a mode of dominating an enemy. As we shall see, the principles of *hilm* figure prominently in eastern versions of the story of Timūr and Bayazid.

At its most negative (and reassuring), the topos of Turkish rage constructed the sultan not as invincible and dangerous, but as weak, defeated, or easily manipulated. Like martial fury, frustrated rage may inspire the sultan's followers to calm him, for rather than wreaking vengeance on the enemy, such rage consumes the emperor himself. In several western accounts, for example, the death of Murad II was attributed to rage. Modern historians report that the aged sultan "died of a stroke,"[33] but Paolo Giovio ascribed his death to the failed siege of Croia: "for this he took such thought and so outrageously fared with himself, that he fell suddenly into a mortal disease. And so at Adrianople died in his woodness [madness] and rage."[34] Richard Knolles acknowledges that he is "not ignorant" that the sultan's "death is otherwise by some reported,"[35] but he also attributes Murad's death to impotent rage, which he describes in detail. When the final siege proved unsuccessful, Murad:

> returned to his camp, as if he had been a man half frantic or distract of his wits, and there sat down in his tent, all that day full of melancholy

> passions, sometimes violently pulling his hoary beard and white locks, complaining of his hard and disaster fortune. . . . His bashas and grave counselors laboring . . . with long discourses to comfort him up . . . , [but] nothing could content his wayward mind, or revive his dying spirits.[36]

In this paradoxical incarnation, the "raging Turk" is depicted as destroyed by his own rage. However, since rage had other, positive connotations, each occurrence needs to be interpreted in context. Moreover, even in cases where the sultan's rage is excessive, the reactions of ordinary Turks (his subordinates and counselors) may align them with those of Christian readers and thus counter any implication of ethnic or essential difference.

## Dialogue and Historicity

The epithets "cruel" and "raging" are a much-discussed element of English discourse about the Ottomans, but the role of dialogue has received little critical attention. The use of "set speeches" is an ancient concern in western historiography. In a famous passage in *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Thucydides explains his approach to representing the words of historical figures:

> In this history I have made use of set speeches some of which were delivered just before and others during the war. I have found it difficult to remember the precise words used in speeches which I listened to myself, and my various informants have experienced the same difficulty; so my method has been, while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speakers say what, in my opinion, was called for by each situation.[37]

Thucydides says he relied on actual auditors for the speeches he includes, but he does not claim to reproduce them verbatim. He acknowledges that everything is filtered through his understanding of the goals of the participants and his opinion of "what was called for." While documented quotations in the modern sense are not to be expected, his authority as a participant-observer is still great. Thomas Hobbes praised his interpretive restraint (never entering into "men's hearts further than the actions themselves . . . guide him") and his literally dramatic narration, which makes "his auditor a spectator . . . in the assemblies of the people."[38] Historian Nancy F. Partner describes his "elaborate set speeches" as "fiction" pure and simple,

but, she insists, they are not as "a slack . . . device for entertainment" but a serious "expressive instrument of interpretation, supralogical significance, psychological analysis, [and] large-scale pattern."[39] In other words, they contribute to a narrativized account of the Peloponnesian War that readers still find compelling.

Historically accurate or not, reported dialogue plays a vital role in a history. It offers insight into the motives (real, apparent, or attributed) of political and military actions, and it illustrates one of the essential skills of a leader. As one English translator of an Ottoman history put it, "A perfect captain must be able to speak his mind."[40] Just as Holinshed depicted Henry V, Richmond (Henry VII), and Richard III inspiring their supporters or charming their opponents (and thus provided a rich source for Shakespeare), so historians interested in the Ottomans increasingly sought to display the sultans' eloquence and wit (or lack thereof) in public and private communications, including "inside views" that purport to capture their inner thoughts. While public speeches emphasize leadership, "soliloquies" and intimate conversations reveal the private side of a historical figure, his doubts, fears, and regrets.

Unlike Thucydides, most western writers about the Turks cannot and do not claim to be eye witnesses of events, but tradition and authority rather than individual invention seem to govern their use of speeches. As was traditional, Andreas Cambini, Johan Lewenklaw (Leunclavius), and Richard Knolles cite their authorities, sometimes in a list at the end of a preface, sometimes in the text proper, and even belletristic writers on historical subjects may cite their sources and explain their practices in detail. In *Orations: of Arsanes agaynst Philip the trecherous kyng of Macedone* . . . (1560?), a collection of orations ancient and modern, the author explains that while two orations are "faithfully translated" out of Marin Barleti, two others are based "after the matter of the history" and on what the author inferred a particular figure "might . . . aptly have said."[41] The writer (possibly Thomas Norton, co-author of *Gorboduc*)[42] acknowledges his imaginative contributions and makes explicit the liberties he has taken, presumably to demonstrate his fidelity to the spirit (if not the letter) of historical truth. The Turks apparently made similar distinctions: in his translation of a Turkish history, William Seaman explains a heading in his source text that labels a speech as "By the Author": "That is, this Speech was not received by the author from others, but he delivereth it as an invention of his own."[43] These examples suggest that early modern writers (east and west) distinguished between a speech "received from others" and therefore deemed to be historical or

authentic, and individual literary inventions, however "warranted" by the history as a whole. Speeches "received from others" bore the stamp of authority and could wield greater power in a historical narrative. At the same time, as the *Orations* and *The Mirror for Magistrates* exemplify, early modern readers also considered invented historical speeches a worthy literary and moral exercise. In *The Couragious Turke*, an Ottoman general congratulates Lala Schahin on the masque presented to the sultan as part of their effort to combat his infatuation with a Christian captive: "That feigned speech of Alexander's wrought/Like to most purging physic."[44] Thus, an invented speech might still have emotional or philosophic power, even if it did not truly represent the speaker in whose mouth it was put.

The frequency and prominence of quotations varies in different historical genres. Brief annals of the sultans' conquests or a paragraph or two in a universal history usually take the form of pure narrative and need not concern us here. In collections of historical *dicta* (or "memorable sayings"), quotations naturally play a prominent if restricted role. For example, Pedro Mexía's brief account of the battle between Timūr and Bayazid I (as translated by Thomas Fortescue) is pure narrative.[45] The climaxes of Mexía's capsule histories, however, are often quotations, such as Timūr's claim that "Thou supposest me to be a man, but . . . none other am I but the wrath and vengeance of God, and ruin of the world."[46] In full-length histories and biographies, dialogue naturally plays a larger role, and this role increased in the course of the sixteenth century. Taken together, these works give us a sense of to what extent and to what effect(s) the sultans "spoke" in the historical sources. Whether the quotes of the sultans and other Ottoman notables in the histories are traditional, newly invented, or authentic in the modern sense, the key issues for the present purpose are when and how they are quoted and to what effect.

## REPRESENTING SPEECH

Spoken words in a narrative may be represented in one of three ways. They may be quoted directly word for word; they may be quoted indirectly, transposed into the narrator's voice; or they may be "narratized," reported as an action, usually as a "speech act," rather than as words.[47] Narratized speech is distinct from Hayden White's concept of narrativization although the former may contribute to the latter.

"I'll meet you at Ninus' tomb," said Thisbe. (Direct quotation)

Thisbe said she'd meet Pyramus at Ninus' tomb. (Indirect quotation)

> Thisbe promised to meet Pyramus at Ninus's tomb. (Narratized speech/speech act)

The distinction between the first category and the other two parallels Voloshinov's linear versus pictorial handling of reported speech and Bakhtin's direct (monologic) versus indirect or quasi-direct (dialogic) discourse. However, as Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson point out, there is no strict "one-to-one correspondence": "One can identify forms of direct and indirect discourse adapted to all attitudes" and uses.[48] Direct quotation, like dramatic dialogue, mimics unmediated experience, but depending on its length, the vividness of its language, and the degree of detail, an indirect or even a narratized speech can approximate the immediacy of direct quotation. Conversely, just as an indirect quote may be infused with irony or other coloring by means of a double-voiced presentation, the integrity and immediacy of a direct quotation may be qualified by strenuous commentary from the narrator.

Passages from Laonikos Chalkokondyles's *The Demonstrations of Histories* and Perondinus's *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita* illustrate the possibilities. Using narratized speech, Chalkokondyles relates how Timūr's wife initially

> would not allow [him] to take the offensive against Bayazid, a praiseworthy man who had fought with great glory against the Christian faith in defence of the religion of Mohammed. Indeed she advised the king to leave so great a man in peace and not to make trouble for him, since he had not deserved to suffer any harm at the hand of those who supported the same religion.[49]

The verbs of the passage turn words into actions ("would not allow," "advised"), but the level of verbal detail is such that we feel we have *almost* heard her actual words. We can understand why her argument might have influenced her husband, but we are not prompted to consider her words as such. When she changes her mind, however, her words are quoted directly:

> I want to make this fact perfectly clear to you: I should not consider it right to make war on this man who battles on behalf of our god against the Greeks [i.e., the Christians of Constantinople]. . . . But on the other hand, if he has foolishly held me up to ridicule, I do not take the view that it would be proper for us to suffer those insults to go unavenged.[50]

In this passage, we believe we are hearing her actual words, and we can (if we wish) make more confident judgments about her reasoning,

her tone, and her character. She is present to the reader in a way she was not before. Although this passage is only slightly more vivid than the narratized quote above, it does seem that Chalkokondyles "saves" direct quotation for her final advice, which, in this account, proves decisive in Timūr's deliberations regarding war with the Ottoman emperor. The quotation is technically linear in Voloshinov's sense (unaffected by the reporting context); it is clearly bounded by quotation marks, and Chalkokondyles does not qualify her words with any commentary of his own. But in giving the Great Khan's wife the last word, he may align his voice with hers and authorize her speech in a dialogic way.

Indirect quotes can also be powerful. As an instance of Timūr's "severity,"[51] Perondinus includes a version of a popular anecdote in which Timūr rebukes a Genovese jewel merchant who had begged him to show mercy and respect to Bayazid. Timūr

> glared threateningly at him and, it is said, replied in a truculent voice that this punishment was not being exacted from a king subdued by force of victorious arms but from a tyrant . . . whose cruelty had led him to depose and kill his own elder brother Suleiman, and that the end he was suffering was therefore wholly appropriate.[52]

This report is vivid and convincing, appearing to capture much of Timūr's phrasing and word choice, but it is filtered through the narrator's sensibility. Before paraphrasing Timūr's retort, he frames it with a seemingly negative detail ("in a truculent voice") and with the qualifier "it is said." The qualifier is part of Perondinus's persona: he is a responsible historian who will not assert more than he can properly claim to know, but it also distances him from the heterodox logic of Timūr's claim (namely, that he is justified in his humiliation of a captive king despite the law of arms and the deference due to royalty). Perondinus thus remains objective about Timūr's severity (neither endorsing it nor condemning it outright), and he does not present the anecdote as authentic beyond any question. The distance that Perondinus places between himself and this speech suggests the greater power of the *un*mediated word.

As we turn to representations of the Ottomans' speech in sixteenth-century histories, therefore, we must consider context and authorial commentary, as well as the grammatical status of the reported speech. Bakhtin identifies a host of subtle, non-grammatical nuances discernible in the narration of a text. He describes various ways a narrator can operate in the "zone" of a particular character's

speech—endorsing it, satirizing it, framing it with "invisible quotation marks," and so on. Such complexity can be found in the narrative technique of early modern histories of the Turks, and Bakhtin's and Voloshinov's insights can usefully be applied to these works.

## Conclusion

Elements of the rhetoric of alterity, such as the stereotype of the raging Turk, play a prominent role in western discourse about the Turks, but they must be historicized. It is also important to notice when such phrases are absent and to ensure that we do not imaginatively supply them when an author has not. Dialogue and direct quotations are likewise powerful tools for representing cultural others. Early modern cultures were keenly aware of the power and (concomitantly) the risk of direct speech, especially in political situations. A prisoner, like Mary Queen of Scots or the Earl of Essex, might beg to plead his or her case to the monarch in person, but he or she was inevitably denied on the grounds that a direct appeal was too great a privilege for an accused traitor—and perhaps too great a test of the emotional toughness of the sovereign. In Nicolas à Moffan's account of Suleyman and Mustapha, Mustapha in hopes of saving his life begs "to speak but two only words unto his father," but his request is denied.[53] Direct address meant access to the sovereign. Similarly, quoting the words of a historical figure (directly or indirectly) grants him or her powerful access to the reader.

But the power of dialogue is not absolute. Quotations may be selected with hostile intent or presented so as to qualify or to cancel altogether a character's claim on our sympathy or credulity. In polyphonic fiction, indirect discourse (indirect quotation) is used to objectify as well as to inhabit a character's speech; it distances the reader from the character's language and worldview. Bakhtin privileges the engagement over the distancing and views the result as dialogic, as evidence of exchange and the shared creation of meaning. J. Hillis Miller, speaking of the narrators in Gaskell, Dickens, and Trollope, agrees. In his view, their use of polyphonic, indirect discourse yielded "a fragmentation of the narrative line, making it irreducible to any unitary trajectory" and "a detour" into the character's language and psyche that "becomes an endless wandering," an "annihilation" of the unitary self.[54] In a nonfiction narrative, however, Bakhtin's polyphony may seem more monologic (controlled by a single sensibility) than dialogic. When historical rivals are represented, genuine dialogue may be more nearly achieved by linear quotation, by (in so far as possible)

having the other speak for himself, rather than having his words digested, filtered, judged, and represented in the voice of the narrator/historian. Indeed, Morson and Emerson suggest that Bakhtin himself ultimately recognized the importance of "boundaries" to preserve the "outsidedness that ultimately makes all dialogue . . . possible."[55] Finally, quotation is a two-edged sword. Perhaps the most powerful technique of negative representation is to give characters "enough rope," to select (or invent) speeches that damn them from their own mouths. Whether, even in such cases, a residual benefit accrues to the speaker, and a degree of dialogic exchange occurs, are questions to which we shall return.

# Chapter 2

# Sixteenth-century Histories of the Turks: Shocking Speech and Edifying Dicta

During the sixteenth century, most sources about the Ottomans available in England were translations of continental works. Typically, many years separated the originals and the translations, and consequently, these works did not represent a single voice speaking from a unique historical moment. They were the product of a scholarly dialogue: the Catholic authors are themselves ambivalent about the Turks, and the translators complicate matters further, adding Protestant commentary and providing competing versions of events in the margins. While the originals were available to educated English readers (as they were to the translators), the translations naturally found a wider audience. Moreover, by choosing a particular text (old or new, scholarly or sensational) the translators shaped the discourse about the Ottomans circulating in England. One can speculate about how the originals were received by other readers in the privacy of their libraries, but the translators explicitly discuss their motives for undertaking the work, and their translations show how they "read" the originals.[1] While a word-for-word comparison of source text and translation is beyond the scope of this chapter, a comparison of the author's and the translator's prefaces (where both are available) and an analysis of the translator's marginalia and other apparatus provide some evidence of where and how they differed. Often cited exclusively for evidence of hostility to the Turks, the source texts construct contradictory images: sultans condemned for the bloody deeds by which

they gained the throne are later portrayed as rulers of accomplishment, wisdom, and justice; denounced as sensual or barbaric in one passage, the Turks may be praised for near angelic piety in the next. While the Turks were, without a doubt, seen as the enemies of Christendom, they were idealized as well as vilified. They held up a reproachful mirror to Christian eyes and embodied virtues seen as lacking in the west. Idealizing cultural rivals may be as damaging to mutual understanding as demonizing them, but to balance the much-discussed hostility to the Turks, we need to acknowledge what Europeans (if only grudgingly) admired about them.

Compared to their continental authors, however, the English translators did take a harder line, especially with respect to religion. As Norman Jones has shown, English Protestants inherited the anti-Turkish polemic of Wycliffe and Luther, which attacked Catholicism by equating Rome and Constantinople, the western and eastern seats of the Antichrist.[2] Concurrently, Jones argues, they "hated [the Turk] in the abstract way in which the church saw all heretics."[3] Consequently, the English reserved their most active hatred for Papists, and their "professed opinions" about the Turks often conflicted with their actual behavior, such as establishing political and economic relations with the Porte.[4] Further, English antipathy was inversely related to the practical perils and benefits that Ottoman power posed to England. While much has been made of the fact that "Turkish" pirates threatened English ships in the Mediterranean and kidnapped individuals from English coastal towns,[5] Tudor and Stuart England was never in danger of losing territory or significant civilian populations to the Turks, unlike the Holy Roman Empire or the Venetian Republic. Indeed, as Brandon Beck points out, between 1585 and 1599, the distance between England and the empire "closed somewhat": English representatives in Istanbul "became a vantage point on the East," and they perceived the Ottomans in terms of "strength, opportunity, and strangeness—anticipated, approached, entered."[6]

This chapter focuses on four texts translated into English before 1600. The earliest, though only partly historical, is of interest for the contributions of its translator, Richard Grafton. Two texts are comprehensive histories of the Turks, and the last is a biography of George Castriot or Scanderbeg, a Janissary who renounced Islam and reclaimed his patrimony from the Turks. After surveying the prefatory matter and marginalia, I will examine how the texts grapple with the problem of letting the sultan speak. While authors and translators increasingly attempt to control a reader's response, more often than

one might expect the sultans are quoted in a favorable light. The last section of this chapter contrasts these translations with John Foxe's *History and Tyranny of the Turks*, a synthesis of continental sources that Foxe included in the second edition of *The Acts and Monuments* (1570).

## The Translators and the Texts: Prefatory Matter and Marginalia

Richard Grafton's *The order of the greate Turckes Courte* (London, 1542), a translation of Antoine Geuffroy's *L'État de la cour du gran Turc* (Envers, 1542?), appears to be the first descriptive and historical account of the Turks published in England in the sixteenth century. It is composed of two (long) letters to a learned friend, a standard genre of humanist scholarship; thus, the primary dialogue is that between the correspondents. The first letter (pages iii–lxxix) describes Turkish society, manners, and religious beliefs, and offers a mostly positive portrait of Suleyman the Magnificent. Geuffroy possesses impressive knowledge of the day-to-day functioning of the Ottoman court, and, according to the front matter in the second French edition, he lived among the Turks "for some years."[7] When he describes Turkish customs or manners, he speaks as an eyewitness.[8] The second letter (pages lxxix–[cxlix]) is more historical, summarizing the conquests of each sultan. Geuffroy's motive for writing is to gratify his friend's desire for knowledge and (modestly) to display his learning. At the beginning of the second letter, Geuffroy explains that he will have to be brief, for "you consider not the affairs that I have in this palace, which as you know be of such quality and importance that it is right hard for me to employ my short memory to any other thing than my present business" (lxxix). For Geuffroy, writing about the Turks, is a favor to a colleague and a learned diversion, not a matter of urgency. Indeed, in the preface to the second French edition, Geuffroy's friend, who published the work without permission, asserts that Geuffroy corrected the overly awed accounts of earlier, uninformed writers, but he humorously criticizes Geuffroy for devoting too much attention and sympathy to the Ottomans, a charge to which Geuffroy rather testily responds in a preface of his own.[9]

As the French title suggests, Geuffroy emphasizes the "state" of the Ottoman system in several senses: its structure and inner workings, its grandeur, and its strengths and weaknesses. He begins by describing the officers of the court and the army, their duties, their compensation in money or land, and the education of the Janissaries in the arts of war

and in other branches of learning (iii–li). The list of the servants of the court and the officers in the army—Springaldes, Odabassi, Capibassi, Capigis, Agas, Capiagas, plus many more—and the details of their functions and their salaries may cause a modern reader's eyes to glaze over. However, the "order" and orderliness of the empire was an important theme at the time. The sultans' ability to rule a vast empire and to train, maintain, supply, and rapidly deploy an enormous standing army evoked astonishment as well as anxiety. (For a European image of the "order" associated with the empire, see figure 2.1.)

Geuffroy's account of the manners and religion of the Turks stresses what they have in common with Christians.[10] He is also fascinated by the Turks' attention to personal cleanliness (both as a prelude to prayer and after "every purgation of nature"), and he reports that they consider Christians "filthy" for "their negligence therein" (lviii). Geuffroy does not always view the average Turk with favor.[11] He asserts "that they have no learning, ne books, but only of their law" (lxviii), but he acknowledges that the Janissaries, in addition to martial skills, are taught "to write and read and to know their law . . . and of sciences" (ix–x). He notes that the sultan has no nobles or landed aristocrats to rely upon (which is viewed as a detriment to his power), that his subjects are mostly Christians, and that his navy suffers from lack of access to "forested places" for ship timbers. He concludes that, in the light of these weaknesses, the Turk's "strength is permitted of God [who] for our sins suffereth this estate so far swerving from all good policy" to flourish (lxxviii). Alluding to the short-lived conquest of Tunis by Charles V in 1535, Geuffroy expresses the hope that Christians might soon "do as much and more, when it shall please God to encourage us thereunto" ([cxlviii]).[12] In sum, rather than issuing a strenuous call to armed resistance or religious reform, Geuffroy dispassionately assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire, with a sideways glance at the complacency of Christendom.

Grafton presents Geuffroy's work in quite a different tone. The printer and compiler of several English chronicles, Grafton was a prolific Protestant activist. He has the distinction of printing the first English Bible in 1537. His contributions to this translation illustrate the more virulent Protestant view of the Turks described by Norman Jones. He begins with an inflammatory preface "To the reader" excoriating the religion of the Turks:

> Read Mahumette's acts whoso lust [list, like], and he shall find such pride and arrogancy, such bloodiness and cruelty, such hypocrisy and

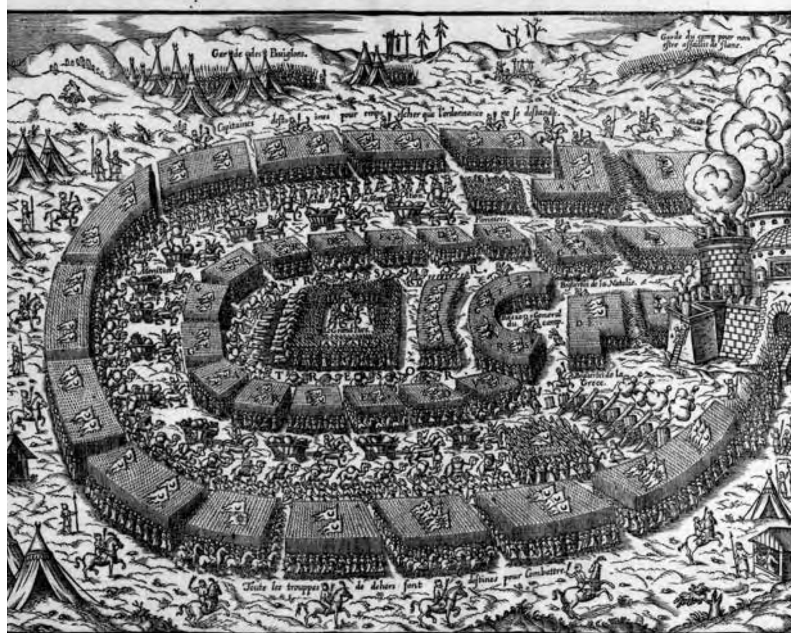


**Figure 2.1** "Portrait of the Army of the Turkish Emperor in Battle Formation," *L'Histoire de la decadence de l'empire Grec et establissement de celuy des Turcs par Chalcondile Athenien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1650–1662), 1: facing p. 1. By permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University. The sultan (*Le Grand Turc*) can be seen near the center, in the middle of the square formation of Janissaries.

> superstition, briefly such a mind to deface, abolish, and destroy the kingdom of the son of the living God . . . as in the chiefest member of Antichrist. (sig. [*ii$^{v}$])[13]

In language far removed from Geuffroy's mild statement regarding God's "sufferance," Grafton asserts that Christians' "sinful living and open contempt of God's holy word" are the reasons "this cruel wolf hath been suffered so piteously to have stained his mouth with Christian blood" (sig. *iii$^{r}$). The prominence of beast imagery and "blood" contrasts with Geuffroy's urbane tone and his dispassionte prose. Perhaps Grafton means to blame Protestant and Catholic alike, but the emphasis on the "contempt for God's holy word" seems directed at Papists and their fellow travelers. He enjoins the reader to pray that God will "raise up," as he did for the Israelites, not a Joshua to lead troops into battle, but a "Jeremiah" to work "true faith and repentance." He envisions the defense of Christendom as religious campaign led by "true preachers of the kingdom of Christ, to confound Antichrist with all his heretical and damnable sects and to deliver his people from miserable bondage" (sig. [*iv$^{v}$]).

Despite this fire-breathing preface, Grafton's copious marginalia are often mild and matter-of-fact. Geuffroy's section on "The Faith or Belief of the Turks" (lii–lxi) would seem to offer the highest potential for negative commentary, but most of the marginalia simply identify the topic under discussion:

> The foundation of the Turks' law (liii)
> Knoweth: the Turks are circumcised. (liv)
> The cause of their going to church and what they do there. (liv)
> The women go not to church with the men. (lv)

Some highlight facts of which the Protestant Grafton might well have approved:

> The opinion and reverence that the Turks have Jesus Christ in. (lvi)
> The Turks will not suffer Christ to be blasphemed. (lvi)
> How the Turks have the books of the Evangelists. (lvii)
> The Turks have none images. (lvii)
> The Turks say the Pater Noster as we do. (lxviii)

Only a few comments seem sensational or judgmental. The statement that Muslims believe women cannot enter Paradise but "shall tarry at

the gate with the Christians which have well kept their law" is glossed: "The foolish opinion of the Turks" (lv). He highlights a danger to Christians traveling in Turkey: "How by speaking of certain words a Christian man shall be compelled to receive their faith or else die" (liv).[14] He denigrates "The superstitious mind of the Turks" for believing that carrying "great rolls of paper" containing images of swords and other weapons will protect them on the battlefield (lxviii). He seems ambivalent about the Turks' attention to personal hygiene: he brands the washing of feet, hands, and faces prior to prayer as "superstitious," but in the same series of glosses, he highlights their personal habits more neutrally ("The cleanliness of the Turks," lviii).[15] Grafton's edition of Geuffroy is thus inconsistent; after a fiercely anti-Ottoman and anti-Muslim preface, he presents Geuffroy's unsensational description of the Turks' customs and beliefs more or less unchanged.

The first extant translation of a full-length history is Peter Ashton's *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles* (1546). As the title page explains, Ashton based his work on a Latin translation of Paolo Giovio's *Commentarii delle cose de Turchi* (Rome, 1535). Giovio, the Bishop of Nucerne, dedicated his history to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Published posthumously, Giovio's history has no author's preface, but his goal in writing emerges in the final section of the book, "The Array and Discipline of the Turkish Warfare." He wishes to inform Charles of the Turks' military methods and to provide "advice and counsel to the Emperor his majesty how he should use the Christian army in all points against the Turks."[16] He refers to the Christian forces in the first person: "our men," "our horsemen" (fol. [xxix$^{v}$] and xxx$^{r}$), and he often criticizes the petty infighting of Christian commanders. Before the Battle of Nicopolis, for example, Giovio reports that bad "counsel was invented craftily by Sigismund [of Hungary] [who] always grudged at the Frenchmen's good success, and envied their honor and glory in wars" (fol. ix$^{r}$). Consequently, the French "smarting for their rashness" were "all destroyed (although they showed great manhood before they were slain), which thing so amazed and discouraged the rest, that cowardly without fight they fled away to their great shame" (fol. [ix$^{v}$] parentheses original). The frankness with which Giovio criticizes the lack of unity, poor discipline, and unwise tactics of this "Crusader" army (a term used by modern historians, but not by Giovio) is typical of many histories of the Turks. However, the implication of such frankness was that the Turks would cease to be invincible if Christians ceased to fight among themselves.

Ashton, the translator, was a Cambridge-educated physician and churchman, who served the last eight years of his life as Prebendary of Lincoln.[17] His preface follows other front matter, including a militant poem by Thomas Litell in the genre of "sleepers awake":

> Wake up now, Christians, out of your slumber,
> Of the Turks to recover your long lost glory.
> Fear not their strength, their power, ne number,
> Sith right not might achieveth the victory. (t.p.)

Ashton dedicates his work to Sir Rafe Sadler, Master of the Wardrobe. After considering the joy that one takes in reading about the great deeds of national heroes and the sorrow one feels in their defeats, he urges that Englishmen remember the Turks' oppression of Christians:

> truly (as Erasmus writeth very well and godly) we ought all that profess Christ and bear the name of Christians . . . take in hand also to revenge it. For as much as all Christendom (sayeth he) is to be thought [of] as one country and all Christians as countrymen. (sig. *iv$^{r}$)

In particular, he expects his readers to welcome the "joyful tidings" of how "the Christians played the men at Belgrade," slew ten thousand Turkish soldiers "in the ditches of the town," and forced Murad II "(to his great shame and reproach) to break up siege and depart" (sig. [*iii$^{v}$]) And, he adds: "May we not be glad to hear tell that Tamberlain took the great Turk Baiazet prisoner and all his life after used him like a vile drudge?" (sig. [*iii$^{v}$]). Ashton's desire to reach a wide audience is implicit in his choice of "plain and familiar English," which the common people despite their "lack of Latin" could understand (sig. [*v$^{v}$]).

Ashton argues that no history is as important to be "looked in[to] and known" as that of the Turks:

> for as much as the Turks (being to all Christendom most cruel and mortal enemies) . . . hath of late years taken from us by force the most goodly and plentiful countries . . . and cities of all Christendom: that hereby, we may take good occasion both to learn their guile and policies, in . . . [whatever] we have hereafter to do with them and also to amend our own Turkish and sinful lives, seeing that God, of his infinite goodness . . . , suffereth the wicked and cursed seed of Ishmael to be a scourge to whip us for our sins, and by this means to call us home again. (sig. [*iv$^{v}$])[18]

Ashton's preface thus echoes the Protestant view that Christians were leading "Turkish" lives and thus bringing the scourge of God upon themselves. Far from being "other," the Turks are a disquieting

reflection of the English themselves. As if to further this identification, Ashton suggests that the English "learn [the Turks'] guile, and policies" with an eye to future dealings with them. His remedy is worldly knowledge as well as otherworldly repentance, and his goal (like Giovio's) is not an imperialist war of expansion but an effective defense against Ottoman incursions into Europe.

Having set the reader in this frame of mind, Ashton's commentary takes the form of marginalia.[19] Negative comments include the following:

> The false pretense of Amurathes. (fol. v$^{r}$)
> An example of truth and fidelity in a servant. ( fol. vi$^{r}$) [Re: the assassination of Murad I by a wounded Serbian soldier]
> That kingdom for the most part doth not long continue which is got by the shedding of innocent blood. (fol. xv$^{r}$)
> An example of a cruel conqueror. (fol. [xxi$^{v}$])

Ashton also underscores the folly of the Christians in military engagements with the Turks. Regarding one ill-advised sortie he comments: "See what a mischief sole [individual] hardiness wrought" (fol. [ix$^{v}$]). While not uniformly hostile, Ashton's marginalia generally highlight negative elements and undermine positive details by presenting them as exceptions to the norm of Ottoman behavior.

In his preface, Ashton also states that he has added other material "in the margin drawn out of the other good and faithful authors writing on the same matter, so that it may more certainly appear to be a true and faithful history, seeing that other good and approved authors agree fully to the same" (sig. *v$^{r}$). He frequently cites Johan Cuspinian or "Cuspiniano" to supply even more lurid versions of events.[20] For example, Giovio reports that Murad II blinded the sons of a defeated enemy, and Ashton adds in the margin: "Cuspin. writeth that he cut off their privy members, also" (fol. xvi$^{r}$). Sometimes the material from Cuspinian conflicts with Giovio's text. Ashton cites Cuspinian on Bayazid II's cowardice, drunkenness, and absence from the field, whereas Giovio describes many effective campaigns against the Venetians that Bayazid led in person (fol. l$^{r}$).

Some English translators were more evenhanded in their commentary, however. A prime example is John Shute, translator of *Two very notable Commentaries* (1562), one of which was Andrea Cambini's *Libro . . . della origine de Turchi* (first published in 1529, two years after the author's death).[21] A densely printed quarto of 200 pages, Cambini's history is one of the most detailed accounts available in the

early sixteenth century. There is no author's preface, but his stance can be inferred from his commentary *passim*. For the most part, he speaks from a learned, Christian, and politically realistic perspective. He displays his humanist credentials in the opening pages by dismissing the false etymology by which some trace the descent of the Turks from the Trojans, or "Teucrians," but in asserting that "being of nature cruel and barbarous [the Turks] took original from the Scythians" (fol. 1r), he endorses a conventional stereotype.

Cambini astutely describes Othman's ability to capitalize on the divisions among his foes and to consolidate his power in Anatolia:

> [H]e was very well holpen by the discord and division that was among the principal and chief rulers of that nation, and he . . . gave now aid to the one party and then to the other, until that they were all so consumed and impoverished that they were not able to resist his force when it was employed against them. And in this sort he became a Tyran[t] over his own nation. (fol. [1v]–2r)

The term "Tyran[t]" suggests a critical view of such methods, but other passages suggest that Cambini could not help admiring the Ottomans' military and political success. He describes Murad II as "a man of truly great power and also of great understanding in wars, who . . . brought underfoot those noblemen of his nation that held any parcel of his dominion, and . . . reduced to his obedience all the Lesser Asia" (fol. [7v]). Like other western writers, Cambini sees the hand of Providence at work in Turkish (as in all) history: Sultan Orchan, having murdered his brother Moises, "long enjoyed not that kingdom so wickedly gotten but died in short space after" (fol. [6v]). Less insistent on Turkish villainy than some, Cambini views the Turks with restrained but critical irony. In addition, since his accounts of each reign are so detailed, summary judgments are balanced by the complexity of the events and personalities he describes.

Shute's translation of Cambini is one work in which the English translator may be more pragmatic and less given to moralizing than his source. Shute identifies himself as "a simple soldier" better practiced "in martial arts than furnished . . . with the cunning of the school."[22] (Despite his alleged lack of schooling, Shute also translated two French works on religion.) He dedicates his translation of Cambini to Sir Edward Fynes, High Admiral of England and Ireland, with whom he appears to have traveled to France in 1557. In his devotion to the "discipline of the wars," Shute reminds one of Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. His fifteen-page epistle to Fynes constitutes a mini-treatise on

the need for a disciplined, well-trained army with captains of "perfect judgement." According to Shute, military discipline or "order"

> containeth in it the whole force of the wars; the root thereof is the perfect judgement of the Captain, [and] the branches are these: the good choice of the new soldiers, obedience of the soldier, the continual exercise [or training] of the soldier, order, wherein the soldier must be instructed, furniture wherewith the soldier must defend and offend, and . . . the severity of the Captain in seeing this discipline truly observed and kept. (sig. *ii$^{r}$–[*ii$^{v}$])

Cambini's treatise, Shute says, shows how the Turks achieved their successes and thus can instruct Christians in the art of war. His language (unlike Grafton's) does not invoke the Turk as a ravening beast or the Antichrist. Nor does he rejoice, like Ashton, in Turkish defeats, for he is more interested in the roots of Turkish victories. Shute's motives, at least overtly, are not imperialistic, although by dedicating his treatise to an official with responsibilities for Ireland he may be gesturing toward the need to consolidate the "first British Empire," Great Britain itself.[23] In his preface to the reader, he writes that knowledge of "martial affairs . . . is very necessary, forasmuch as no country can promise to itself perpetual peace and quietness"; therefore, he hopes that his "travail" will make the reader "better able to serve to the maintenance of God's glory and the common wealth of [his] country" (sig. [***ii$^{v}$]).

Consequently, Shute's marginalia focus on political and military matters. (His preface makes clear that the marginalia are his own: "I have . . . noted the principal matters of the books in the margin which mine author hath not" sig. [***ii$^{v}$]). He calls attention to the "unspeakable cruelty of Mahomethe" in strangling an infant "rival" and in permitting the sack of Constantinople (fols. [14$^{v}$], [19$^{v}$], and 32$^{r}$). The report of Selim's murder of his nephews similarly earns the gloss "Barbaric cruelty" (fol. 55$^{r}$). Occasionally, his marginalia strike an anti-Catholic note: "Blasphemy of an impudent papist" (fol. [24$^{v}$]). But the majority of Shute's marginalia highlight the Ottomans (and even Mehmed II, whose cruelty he deplored) as models of military excellence. He stresses their "judgement" and foresight, their command of military strategy and preparation even more than their personal courage or prowess:

> Great judgement of Mahomet. (fol. 17$^{r}$)
> Mahomet a noble captaine. (fol. [31$^{v}$])

> Ripe judgement of Bajazeth. (fol. [40r])[24]
> Good providence of Bajazeth (fol. [42v])[25]
> Note here the great judgement of Selim. (fol. [56v])
> Selim, of great judgement (fol. 58r)

Sometimes, opposite a shrewd military maneuver, he writes in the margin "Note this act" (fol. [36v]), or "Note this battle" (fol. [42r]),[26] or simply "Nota" (fol. 59r), counting on the reader to supply the positive assessment. On a few occasions, he praises a sultan's magnanimity as an aspect of his generalship, as when he highlights the "Great courtesy of Bajazeth" to the defeated town of Moncastro (fol. [45r]).[27] Shute, in sum, has little interest in doctrinal differences or social customs. His desire is that the English might imitate the Turks and thus reform and strengthen their military practices; his goal is not to fight the Turks per se, but generally to maintain "God's glory and the common wealth" against all perils (sig. [***iiv]). Consequently, where Cambini implicitly criticized the sultans' abilities to divide and conquer, Shute studied their methods in hopes of similar success.

Marin Barleti's *Vita et gestis Scanderbegi*, a life of George Castriot, known as Scanderbeg, likewise focuses on military prowess, but in this case the model is a Janissary who rebelled and used his training (and his own gifts) to reclaim his patrimony and to hold the Ottomans at bay for twenty-five years. "Scanderbeg" is a European corruption of "Iskander Bey" (Lord Alexander, or Alexander the Great), a title bestowed by the Turks in recognition of Castriot's exploits in their service. A churchman and a native of Scudre (in modern Albania adjacent to Epirus), Barleti was eight years old when Scanderbeg died (1468). His biography, published in Rome ca. 1520[28] and translated into French (1576), German (1577), and Italian (1580) was known in England. Ashton, specifically citing Barleti, adds a marginal summary of Scanderbeg's career to his translation of Giovio,[29] and the second work translated by Shute in 1562, *The Warres of the Turkes made against George Scanderbeg*, may also be indebted to Barleti. In 1596, however, Barleti's entire work was translated into English by Zachary Jones (from the French of de Lavardin).[30]

Zachary Jones's dedication to Sir George Carey, Knight Marshal of Her Majesty's Horse, presents Scanderbeg as a "Traveler" to England in need of the "favour and protection" of a noble patron so that he "may pass freely amongst the English without being wronged or injured in his travel" (sig. ¶iijr). In his epistle to the reader, Jones invokes the topos that the admiration of one's enemies is the highest praise: Scanderbeg deserves to be honored as the mirror of all Christian

virtues and the pride of Epirus, "seeing that the Turks themselves, his sworn and mortal enemies have given and attributed the name of Great unto him" (sig. [¶iiij$^{v}$]). Jones's emphasis, being entirely positive, is on Scanderbeg's personal and military excellence and on the usefulness of histories rather than on the negative qualities or deeds of the Turks. His interest in martial discipline and the Platonic "Idea" of soldiership recalls Shute's preface to his translation of Cambini:

> Herein may both the expert martialist and the simple soldier see the excellency and perfection of his calling and profession: the benefit of good order and martial discipline; and out of the Idea of Scanderbeg his actions, may they behold (as it were) the anatomy and shape unto themselves, the image both of an expert general and an absolute soldier. (sig. [¶iiij$^{v}$])

There are no pejorative references to the Turks or to their religion in either of Jones's prefaces. As we shall see, in Barleti's work the Ottomans are chiefly noble antagonists, whose own excellences make Scanderbeg's accomplishments shine more brightly.

## Shocking Speech and Edifying Dicta

When the Ottoman sultans are directly or indirectly quoted by sixteenth-century historians, contradictory motives tend to predominate: the desire to shock the reader with the scandalous words of a tyrant and the greater shock of moral edification from the mouth of the same. In Ashton's translation of Giovio, Selim I defends his "extreme cruelty" toward his "own alliance and blood, [which] made him (not without a cause) to have an ill name":

> he would always say that there could be nothing more pleasant than to reign without fear and suspicion of his kindred, and therefore he ought to be holden excused. For, he said, if any other yea the least of the Ottomans' blood had been Emperours as he was, he should have been served of the same sauce. (fol. xcviii$^{r}$–[xcviii$^{v}$])

Selim does not deny his cruel deeds, but he is given the opportunity to justify them. The colloquial diction of the translation ("served of the same sauce") has several effects. On the one hand, it contrasts with the heinousness of the execution of family members and thus heightens the impression of Selim's callousness. On the other, it makes Selim sound like a regular guy: hey, he'd like to live in peace with his relatives, but if the circumstances were altered, they'd be out

to get *him*. Considered in isolation, the quotation seems scandalously bold and amoral. Further, one might read it as an implicit condemnation of a political and social system that, in the interests of promoting the survival of the fittest, turns its rulers into fratricides.

Viewing this quotation in light of the work as a whole, however, Giovio's attitude is less clear. Much of his account is highly critical of Selim and sympathetic to his vanquished adversaries.[31] A few pages earlier, he emphasizes the irony of the place and manner of Selim's death, which revealed "the plain judgement of God" upon him: Selim dies in the village in which he "first set upon his father," so it is fitting that "in the same place he should receive a worthy punishment" (fol. [xcvi$^{v}$]). Giovio's account of Selim's reign, the longest and most detailed in his work, ends with a six-page summary of the sultan's character and "common sayings," in the manner of the *de dictis* collections. In these pages, Giovio's portrait is almost entirely positive: Selim was fearless, hungry for honor, and admired Alexander the Great. Giovio argues (in some detail) that his judgments, though severe, were "always . . . grounded upon justice" (fol. [xcvii$^{v}$]). He asserts that Selim excelled in "the perfect knowledge of war and governance of the people . . . and was such a one as seldom has been heard of" (fol. [xcviii$^{v}$]). He quotes even stronger praise from a Venetian ambassador to Cairo, "who was much in his [Selim's] company." The ambassador, he writes:

> told me . . . that he never found man worthy to be compared to Selimus for justice, humanity, fortitude, and such other moral virtues: and that he was passing well nurtured and broken to all civility, contrary to the guise of that barbarous nation, affirming also that whatsoever the people would object to him, that he would put it away, wondrous wittily. (fol. xcix$^{r}$)

Selim's rejoinder about his elimination of his relatives, quoted above, thus exemplifies his witty rebuttal of his critics. Selim's being "well nourished and broken to all civility" has historical support; he was a poet and patron of the arts.[32] Although the Venetian ambassador portrays Selim as an exception to the Turkish rule ("contrary to the guise of that barbarous nation"), his praise is doubly striking since Selim was later seen by some as the incarnation of the raging Turk. Thus, despite the plethora of commentary, Giovio's point of view is far from consistent, and in the last instance he lets the ambassador's assessment stand without any comment of his own—a generous instance of the politics of quotation.

Ashton's marginalia in this six-page summary of Selim's character may signal his attitude more clearly. He highlights the two negative elements. Opposite Selim's defense of his cruelty, he writes: "The saying of a tyrant" (fol. xcviii[r]). In response to another negative detail, Selim's being "given inordinately to women's company," he writes: "Of the incontinency of Selimus" (fol. xcix[r]), but he also calls attention to potentially positive and neutral information, such as Selim's study of classical history ("Selimus delighted much in the history of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar," fol. xcvii[r]). Citing another witty, self-deprecating *dictum*, Giovio reports that Selim

> was wont to say, that he would never wear long hair as his father Bayazid [II] did, lest that the nobles should take hold thereby with their hands and trail him whether they would, as before him they served Bayazid. (fol. xcviii[r])

Ashton's marginal note is noncommittal: "Selimus would wear no long beard and the cause why." On the whole, Ashton preserves Giovio's ambivalence; Ashton transmits to his readers intact both the negative tenor of Giovio's account and its laudatory finale. He himself, however, contributes more negative notes than positive ones.

Geuffroy also discusses Selim's swift justice in mixed terms but with a crucial difference. His account, like those above mostly justifies Selim's actions. Selim punished one basha "because he would have made business [that is, fomented rebellion] with the Janissaries"; he executed his son-in-law "for diverse robberies and enormities which he had committed," and Janus Basha—"none' can tell why or wherefore but that he thought him too proud and arrogant" ([cxli]–[cxlii]).[33] While the first two judgments appear just, the last is implicitly judged to be capricious ("none can tell why or wherefore"). Grafton adds no marginal comments of his own, one way or the other. Geuffroy's unnarrativized chronicle of Ottoman victories exemplifies that, without context and dialogue, a sultan's actions are more likely to appear inexplicable.

Although the historians do not hesitate to brand the sultans' words and deeds as cruel, tyrannical, and barbarous, more often than one might expect, they also quote them in moments of moral reflection or magnanimous action. In fact, it is easier to find noble quotes for the sultans than scandalous ones. This is partly because noble sayings are the ones most often recorded and circulated, but even so, it is surprising how often the sultans are represented as *part* of the tradition of noble *dicta*. In relating virtuous speeches, however, the sources sometimes

gloss them as "exceptions to the rule." Thus, at times, even the sultans' most virtuous words and deeds (as viewed by a westerner) can be made to reflect negatively on Ottoman society and culture.

Among the entirely admirable quotations of the sultans is one reported in Thomas Newton's translation of Augustinus Curio's *Historiae saracenicae.* (1567). Curio reports that an early (and perhaps apocryphal) sultan, Axan, captured the Byzantine Emperor. Axan "embraced him as though he had been his own brother" and promised him, "At my hands you shall not be used as a captive and prisoner, but like an emperor and as is most fitting to one of your estate."[34] Newton adds in the margin, "Great courtesy of the Sultan." According to Curio, the children of the two leaders were married and a peace treaty concluded.

A fairly common topos is that of an old sultan coming to wisdom: Murad I, Murad II, and Bayazid II were all portrayed as seeking a life of religious retirement in old age. Cambini presents Murad II's decision as narratized speech ("he called to mind"), but the level of detail is such that we have the illusion of hearing the old man's virtuous (if highly conventional) thoughts:

> [H]e called to mind the great peril and danger that he had been in, and also the great cares that are incident to government, in the which he concluded that no man might call himself happy, for as much as [life] has in it more of the bitter than of the sweet; and judging also by examples past, the inconstancy Fortune, who rarely accompanieth any man favorably throughout to the end, and . . . [having made the necessary provisions for the empire] he . . . disburdened himself of government and was become private. (fol. [12v])

Although Murad II's attempt to retire was unsuccessful, his otherworldly motivation is not undercut or criticized by Cambini or Shute. Since sixteenth-century western historians emphasized the fickleness of fortune and the vanity of earthly greatness, the frequency with which they represent the sultans embracing similar values is noteworthy. Although Foxe was to mock the "monkish sects" to which some of the sultans longed to retire, Catholic historians like Cambini and Protestants less militant than Foxe were likely to view the sultans as having achieved a measure of the very wisdom that their own histories aimed to impart.

Adapted by Marlowe in *2 Tamburlaine*, the example of virtuous Turkish speech best known today is one that contrasts with Christian perfidy. As recorded by Antonio Bonfini in *Rerum Ungaricarum*,[35]

just before the battle of Varna, Murad II called on Christ to avenge the blasphemy of the Hungarians and the Papal Legate, who had broken the peace and the oath they swore to keep it. Brandishing the text of the "late league" and "with his eyes cast up to heaven," Murad exclaimed:

> Behold, thou crucified Christ, this is the league thy Christians in thy name made with me, which they have without cause violated! Now, if thou be a God, as they say thou art and as we dream, revenge the wrong now done unto thy name and me, and show thy power upon thy perjurious people, who in their deeds deny thee, their God![36]

The sin is attributed to the Catholic leaders and especially to the Papal Legate, "the wicked author of that perfidious war,"[37] but Bonfini's commentary neither denies nor qualifies the superior virtue of the Turks in this instance. Murad's appeal to Christ is not mentioned by Giovio, but Ashton (in a positive intervention) adds the appropriate passage from Cuspinian in the margin. Seeing the image of the cross on the Hungarian standards, Murad cries out: "O Crucified . . . behold and see thy false forsworn people, and if thou be a god take vengeance upon their perjury" (Ashton fol. xix$^{r}$).

Although these examples of virtuous speech stand without qualification, others do not. In several histories, Selim I is quoted in a moment of high principle as he neared death. According to Cambini, the sultan was encouraged for the benefit of his soul to give to the poor "the great wealth" confiscated from some Christian merchants. Selim demurred, and his words are quoted directly:

> [W]ouldst thou that I should honor myself with the goods of other men and to bestow them in virtuous works in the remembrance and commendation of me? I will never do it . . . [The goods] should be delivered to them from whom they were taken, and also be called to [their] remembrance. (fol. [68v])[38]

Cambini points the moral: "And this is spoken to confound many of our Christian princes, among whom in the like case it is a very hard matter to find one that shall have such remorse of conscience" (fol. [68v]). Shute's marginal comment, however, qualifies the incident as an exception to the rule. By adding the words, "A notable answer of Selim being a heathen prince" (fol. [68v]), he equates Islam with "heathenism" and implies a paradox between Selim's religion and his ethical sensitivity. Cambini also quotes the modest and humane saying

of Murad II after the battle of Varna in which there were many casualties, especially among the Christians:

> When Amurath had thus obtained the victory . . . , he had no great desire to follow in the chase of his flying enemies, nor yet did glory with great words as the manner of the Turks is, ne yet sought . . . to amplify the victory. . . . And being demanded by certain of his familiars the cause, that after so great a victory, he showed him self so melancholic, he answered, I desire not often to obtain victory in this sort. (fol. [12v])

In this case, Cambini himself provides a qualifying note. While Murad's melancholy at the bloodshed stands as genuine, the quasi-parenthetical comment "as the manner of the Turks is" characterizes his lack of boasting as an exception to the rule. In both these cases, however, the direct quotations and the mostly positive commentary leave a favorable impression of the sultans.

## Words versus Deeds: Martial and Diplomatic Speech

A number of direct and indirect quotations in the sources represent a sultan engaged in martial speech and diplomacy. Such quotations exhibit his persuasive powers and his faithfulness (or lack there of) in keeping his word. As in the notable sayings above, the sources provide both positive and negative examples. Cambini offers an example from the life of Bayazid II. When his son Selim rebels, Bayazid seeks to rally his troops (who are partial to Selim). Quoting the sultan indirectly, Cambini reports that he "commanded them to use all their force possible against Selim" for Bayazid "saw in him so great beastliness" that he was "enforced . . . to believe that his mother had . . . conceived him by some adultery" (fol. [51v]). His speech is effective; when the bashas "heard these words . . . they were marvelously enflamed with ire and just indignation" and put the rebel forces to flight (fol. [51v]). Cambini is sympathetic to Bayazid throughout these events, and the sultan's sorrowful eloquence is presented as befitting a royal father. At the same time, since Bayazid himself is condemning a potential heir to the throne as "beastly," the quotation verges on condemning the Turks from their own mouths.

Cambini records another positive instance from Bayazid's European campaigns. The town of Moncastro in Wallachia had resisted a long siege, though their position was weakening. As the sultan neared success, "being desirous to save both the people and town," he

proposed a parley. His words are quoted indirectly through his messenger:

> [W]hereupon he signified them to them that he would talk with them, sending his messenger onto them, giving them to understand that he came in full purpose, never to leave the assault . . . until he had taken the town by force; and also, that if they tarried . . . , he had given the town in prey to his soldiers and would . . . put to the sword all that ever he found there. But if they would yield unto him, he would give them both their lives and goods, and also it should be in their choice whether they would continue there still or else depart the town. (fol. [45r]–[45v])[39]

While this offer may seem harsh to a modern reader, it was in keeping with the rules of medieval warfare, east and west. Cambini does not comment directly, but he reports that the town fathers accepted the conditions, "being in good hope through the good opinion that they had of Baiazithe to have them faithfully observed" (fol. [45v]).[40] Their hope is not misplaced; the sultan "observed his promise with such faith that they were hurt neither in person nor in any one jot of their substance" (fol. [45v]).[41] This incident is preceded by a similar one that contrasts Bayazid's earning the "good will" of some provinces by his "modesty" and "humanity" (fol. 38r) with the (Christian) Duke of Calabria's breaking his promise of clemency to the Muslim citizens of Ottranto.[42] In both cases Shute's marginalia reinforce Cambini's positive account: he comments "Promise evil observed" regarding Ottranto (fol. [37v]), and "Great courtesy of Baiazith" with respect to Moncastro (fol. [45r]).[43]

A sultan's diplomatic speech might be sincere and guileful at the same time. In reporting Selim I's Egyptian campaigns, Geuffroy indirectly quotes the sultan in a moment of ironic honesty. Having "feigned" a diversion against Persia to mask his designs on Egypt, he was approached by a Syrian prince for "succour against the Soldan of Egypt":

> Whereunto most willingly he did agree, saying it was the thing he most earnestly desired, and the mean and occasion also that he greatly looked for, howbeit, he durst not open nor declare his mind thereupon, seeing these two armies in the fields, for fear lest they should have . . . fallen upon him. ([cxxxix])[44]

In responding to the request for aid, the sultan does not lie, but the supplicants are not wise enough to consider the consequences of an alliance with a potential foe.

In another instance, however, quoting a diplomatic speech highlights the sultan's inability to make his case. In the summer of 1444, mutually recriminating letters were exchanged between Murad II and Scanderbeg. Quoting Murad's words indirectly, Geuffroy comments ironically upon the sultan's frustrated and ineffectual response to the rebel:

> Amurath the Great Turk could never lay any thing to his [Scanderbeg's] reproach, save only the good cheer that he [Amurath] made to him the time he was under his power, calling him his unthankful son and child by diverse his writings sent to him, full of many amiable and favorable good words. (cvi)

The brevity and the irony of this passage ("many amiable and favorable good words") are typical of the historical portion of Geuffroy's work. Two full-length histories, however, present the correspondence in detail.

In the anonymous treatise on Scanderbeg translated by Shute and published with his translation of Cambini, Murad's complaint occupies about a page and a half.[45] The narrator introduces the sultan's letter objectively: "After all these things, Amorathe the Great Turk sent an ambassador to Scanderbeg with a letter of this tenuor:" (fol. [7v]). The sultan, who has just defeated the Hungarians and their allies at Varna, begins with calculated bluntness: "[To] Scanderbeg, by this my letter. I, Amorathe, Emperor of all the east part of the world may not salute thee more nor less for that thou art become my greatest enemy." (fol. [7v]). He goes on, as in Geuffroy, to complain of Scanderbeg's ingratitude, but when quoted directly, his charge naturally has greater force:

> [thou] hast used me with such ingratitude considering that I brought thee up and nourished thee even as thou hadst been my natural son, and always sought to do thee honor; and thou hast now rebelled against me and hast done me great displeasures as thou right well knowest, and all men may witness thereof. (fol. [7v])

Murad claims to be at a loss to understand Scanderbeg's behavior and speculates that he was "angry" for the delay in the return of his patrimony or that he was always planning to revert to Christianity. Murad asserts, "truly, if I had understood this desire of thine I would have done what thou wouldst have required me"; he promises, in light of Scanderbeg's deserts, to "qualify [his] ire" and offers peace, "upon condition that thou restore unto me the part of Albania which I have gotten from others and not from thy father" (fol. [7v]). In other

words, Scanderbeg may keep his ancestral lands but must relinquish the rest. Naturally, there is an "or else":

> Or else I swear unto the high God, and by his prophet Mohamethe, by the soul of my father, and by my sword, that I will employ all my force against thee, and will chase thee out of that country in despite of thee. . . . Thou knowest well that beside all mine other forces I can put into the field more than 150,000 fighting men and thou having but a handful of soldiers art not able to resist me. (fol. 8r)

But the sultan ends on a conciliatory note:

> I say these things unto thee because I would not hurt thee. I have set before thee the good and the evil, it is now in thy choice to take [which] of them thou wilt, and thou mayest credit my . . . ambassadour Airadin, and whatsoever he shall promise by mouth I will fulfill, from Adrianople, the 16 of June 1444. (fol. 8r)

Since early modern Christians viewed Scanderbeg as a great hero, the cards are definitely stacked against the sultan. At the same time, Murad's feelings are understandable, and he is given a chance to make his case in detail.

Scanderbeg's defiant rejection of these terms occupies over two pages. It is introduced in a neutral fashion, although his courteous treatment of the sultan's ambassador is explicitly noted.[46] The letter combines in equal measure stout self-defense (I have not wronged you), casuistic defiance (if I overcame your soldiers and annexed your territory, it was the soldiers' fault for attacking me), and a religious provocation (far from regretting my reconversion to Christianity, I recommend that you reread the Koran and choose "the better way"). He closes as follows:

> to conclude I say that neither thy sugared persuasions, ne yet thy cruel threat[en]ings may alter what I have said, but if that thou wilt become a Christian, I shall then be enforced to all that thou hast required me. Furthermore I promise unto thy highness that I will not invade any part of thy dominions, unless that thy people do first begin. And thus I commend me unto thee, in such sort as shall please thee. From our camp, the xiii. of July 1444. (fol. 9r)

Scanderbeg then wisely prepares his army for attack. The anonymous author's method in this instance is close to that of a dramatist. He does not characterize the sultan's words as "sugared persuasions" or "cruel threat[en]ings," but he quotes Scanderbeg's words to that effect. To

use Voloshinov's terms, the narrator uses linear quotation to capture the verbal thrust and parry, while himself maintaining a neutral stance. Shute likewise interjects no commentary of his own. However, since Scanderbeg is given the last word, in accordance with the politics of quotation, one infers that the narrator's sympathies lie with him.

By contrast, in Jones's translation of Barleti the commentary is explicit. Barleti cites the letters at length, and defends his decision to do so, calling attention to their style as well as their substance: "In my judgement, it shall seem neither strange nor unpleasant . . . if I add in this place the manner and style of the letters sent from Ottoman" (79). But Barleti's commentary is far less objective than Shute's anonymous source. He employs a hunting or hawking metaphor to suggest the sultan's devious purposes: the letters were designed "to entice and allure the mind of Scanderbeg, and to try him how to turn and wind him on all sides" (79). While the gist of the letters is the same, the sultan's language is more formal and mellifluous, even in the deliberately slighting salutation: "Amurath Ottoman, sovereign of the Turks and Emperour of the Orient, to Scanderbeg his most ingrate foster son, neither wisheth health, nor sendeth greeting" (79). Consequently, the sultan appears less crude and more adept at seeking by diplomacy what he has failed to achieve by force. However, in this version Scanderbeg's personal judgments are authorized, transferred into the narrator's voice. Scanderbeg's captains debate whether or not to agree to the sultan's terms (82), thus suggesting that his eloquence had some effect on lesser minds. Scanderbeg himself , however, "gave no credit to these vain and fruitless letters, but both they and he that sent them were equally set at naught" (82). In this account, the exchanges between the two warriors are more vivid, exciting, and detailed, but the narrator takes greater care to ensure that the reader views matters from the "right" perspective. Barleti's narration is technically dialogic in a Bakhtinian sense (because it echoes and digests Scanderbeg's language), but the effect is monologic: the narrator explicitly sides with Scanderbeg against the sultan.

Dialogic in another sense is Scanderbeg's attempt to justify his own deceit. In his reply to Murad, Scanderbeg claims that he was loyal until he saw that the sultan's own words were not "free from fraud, malice, and treason," whereupon he too began to dissemble. So, he argues, the sultan has no cause to "be aggrieved or to complain, seeing that (as the saying is) thou art wounded with thine own weapon" (85). As we shall see, the theme of being hoist on one's own petard is a major motif in the eastern sources discussed in chapter 4. For the moment, however, Scanderbeg's having imitated Murad's guile to engineer his freedom

implies rather porous boundaries between the behavior and identity of the two. Scanderbeg does not cite specific instances of Murad's deceit, so the charge is not proven, but his rhetorical jibe—and indeed his entire career—suggests that the road to Christian resurgence against the Turks lies in imitating their practices and in turning these practices and (in this case) their heroes against them.

## Private Speech

Some quotations show that the sultans, for all their power, are only human. Cambini indirectly quotes Selim I's response to a threatened mutiny of Janissaries, who wanted to go home during the winter between two campaigns. When the troops vowed to return without him, Selim was "marvelously troubled" and departed secretly for Constantinople, where he went into seclusion and gave "audience to no man." When asked about the cause of his melancholy, Selim "answered that he was no more an Emperor for so much as the Janissaries would have enforced him" (fol. [59v]). In quoting these words, Cambini may satisfy a western reader's wish that the Turks be less powerful and threatening, but he also undermines the stereotype of the sultan as an omnipotent slavemaster, whose subjects had no role but that of abject obedience. At the same time, western readers might have been ambivalent about the Janissaries' quasi-mutiny; while they might have welcomed evidence of disobedience against the sultan, in general they took a dim view of mutiny against one's rightful sovereign. As often happens, both criticisms were sometimes leveled at the Turks without acknowledging the contradiction: the sultan was both a cruel tyrant who ruled his "slaves" with an iron hand and a weak, fearful monarch, whose subordinates frequently compelled him to do their bidding.

In a similar instance, Barleti dramatizes Murad II's dying words to his captains and his son Mehmed II after their failure to defeat Scanderbeg and to subdue the city of Croia. Barleti's introductory comment is deferential in tone, and he uses theatrical imagery to cast the sultan as the protagonist of a drama: "I hold it not impertinent, if I recount unto you in this discourse the last Act of his end and tragedy" (243). He sets the scene effectively: lying upon "little low bed," the sultan "perceived his . . . appointed time to approach," and "he caused himself somewhat to be raised up"(243). He then spoke as follows:

> Let my example (quoth he) be a warning unto thee my son, never to contemn and despite any enemy, be he never so weak and feeble. . . . I

> shall still and everlastingly repent it, that I was so negligent and inconsiderate as to be the father and the nourisher of a domestical enemy: whereby I have both purchased this calamity to my self, and this perpetual blot unto the name and Empire of the *Ottomans*, giving unto the whole world and to all ages in time to come fit matter to talk and to make a jesting stock of this my ignominious death and shameful end before the walls of *Croie*. (244)

Murad does not presume to advise his heir, since he has "been so greatly mistaken" and has made "a wrong account of all things which concerned [his] own good": rather, he says, "I leave unto thee this enemy, charging thee that thou do not leave our death unrevenged." (245).

These vivid speeches have at least the potential to draw a reader into a more complex relationship with the sultan, especially coming as they do at the end of a detailed account that includes Murad's victory over the Catholic forces at Varna and his struggle with Scanderbeg. Some readers, myself included, might find merit and grounds for empathy in the sultan's self-reproaches. Although he protests his lack of good fortune, he takes responsibility for his failures and expresses a measure of humility. For Barleti, Murad's death provides yet another instance of the vanity of worldly gain, but it also ends a life of considerable accomplishment: "What did that age yield more great than *Amurath*? Who of all men then lying upon the face of the earth (be it spoken without offence) was of more glorious and high renown than he?" (245). The parenthetical aside, so often a vehicle for negative generalizing, here defends the narrator's honest assessment of the sultan's worldly achievements. Though he recalls that Murad's accession was accompanied "by the blood and slaughter of his own natural brothers," he also credits him with restoring "the name of the Ottomans" after their disastrous defeat by Timūr (245).

A few lines later, however, Barleti uses these speeches to criticize and triumph over the sultan. He implies that defiant rage is more admirable than "base" self-reproach, and he highlights the ironic contrast between the two:

> Ô how far do those his last speeches differ from the courses of his forepassed life! Being now heard to pour forth such vile and base complaints and to lament so shamefully, even in the view of an enemy. . . . Behold he now lieth full low upon the ground, a deformed, a filthy, and stinking carcass: with his hands closed, his eyes shut, and his feet stretched out, which erst so gloriously did trample and tread upon the earth. . . . (246)

While Barleti does not forgo the opportunity to revel in the sultan's defeat and to imagine him as a "filthy, and stinking carcass," he ultimately sees him in terms to which both religious and ethnic identities are irrelevant. Using first person plural pronouns, he includes himself and the reader among those in need of instruction:

> Ô the blinded and perverted thoughts of foolish men, why do we so glorify our selves? Why are wee so puffed up and exalted? Why do we so set ourselves on the riches, the authority, and the pompous vanities of this life? (246)

Ultimately, the sultan is not relegated to some sub- or inhuman category of the other; he is assimilated to the never-ending parade of foolish mortals, who trade true spiritual riches for illusory worldly greatness. In 1603, Richard Knolles incorporates this portion of Jones's translation almost verbatim in his *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, which remains the standard account till the end of the seventeenth century.

Despite his focus on the vanity of earthly glory, Barleti in some ways anticipates the perspective of the eastern sources to be considered in chapter 4. Although he is a Christian monk and a countryman of Scanderbeg, the bulk of his commentary about the Turks is neither reductive nor dismissive. As a biographer, he understands the narrative logic of "mighty opposites": the greater and more admirable the hero's enemies, the more lustrous his deeds. On these grounds, Barleti defends the length and the positive terms with which he describes Mehmed II, Scanderbeg's last Ottoman opponent. "It may be," he writes, that he has "busied [him]self about Mahomet more than needed," considering that his purpose was to describe "the life of Scanderbeg only":

> Nevertheless . . . , I suppose also, that the readers . . . will not be wearied, by seeing (as it were) in a table the outward and inward habit of so accomplished and perfect a warrior; who (though he were an enemy) yet was a most puissant, a most fortunate, and a most renowned Prince. (255)

The desire to represent the "outward and inward habit" leads the prominence of both public and private speeches in Barleti's work. Moreover, Barleti writes, "a good part of the praise and commendation of our Epirot" lies in comparing him with Mehmed: "For by how much more we do sometimes justly condemn and sometimes justly extol the former [Mehmed], by so much doth the valour and felicity of the other shine forth and appear more glorious" (255).

Paradoxically—or rather inevitably—Scanderbeg's biographer is also one of Mehmed's admirers.

## Foxe's History and Tyranny of the Turks: The First English History of the Turks?

John Foxe's *History and Tyranny of the Turks* is included in the second (1570) edition of *The Ecclesiastical History* (*The Acts and Monuments*).[47] Foxe draws on some of the sources discussed above, including Giovio and Georgieviz, as well as Greek and German authorities not yet circulated in English.[48] Traditionally, the honor of writing the first English history of the Turks has been accorded to Richard Knolles and for good reason. Foxe's narrative is brief compared to Giovio's or Cambini's, let alone Knolles': he devotes about sixty pages to the reigns of twelve sultans, from Othman to Suleyman the Magnificent. The balance of his treatise condemns Islam, describes Muslim "persecutions"of Christians, compares the Syrians and the Turks, presents and interprets prophecies related to the Turks, and laments the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe. Since Foxe provides his own synthesis rather than translating any one of these sources, however, his is technically the first English history of the Turks.

Foxe's treatment of Ottoman history provides an interesting contrast with the works discussed above. In some ways, they exemplify different genres. The continental works are secular in the sense that they aspire to record past "facts" and understand human acts and motives, albeit within a moral (usually providential) framework. Foxe's Ottoman history is incidental to a polemical treatise informed by a particular eschatological vision. As William Brown explains, Foxe's antipathy to the Ottomans derives from his belief that the rise of Islam in 666 "coincided almost exactly with the time appointed for Satan's release and a renewed period of oppression and persecution forecast by Revelation," and that the rise of the Ottomans in the 1300s coincided "with the completed corruption of the visible Church under [Pope] Boniface VIII."[49] Thus, even more than other providential historians, Foxe views the Ottomans from a distance, in the grand scheme of universal history. His hostility to Islam and the Turks overrides any attention to the human or political dimensions of Ottoman history. All the Turks are reduced to devilish automatons, who murder and pillage without any evidence of recognizable human feeling. His animosity is expressed in highly emotional epithets: "this pestiferous sect

of Mahomet" and "devilish Mahomet" (21); "this beast" (Mohammed, 22); "A generation of vipers" (opposite Bayazid's genealogy, 29); "these hellhounds" and "the cruel Turks (or rather devils on earth)" (64). At other moments he is simply scornful. The Koran is "ridiculous" and its "blasphemies . . . are rather to be laughed at, than recited" (21). He recounts quasi-miraculous tales, such as that of the ox that allegedly nudged together the quarters of an executed man, thus showing that the Turkish sultan was "much more bestial than the brute ox" (82).[50] He highlights God's Providence in sometimes sparing the Christians and punishing the Turks. The death of prince Mustapha in 1553, for example, gave Christians cause "to congratulate and to give thanks to God": "For this Mustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians." (75). But he also stresses God's punishment of Christians, who are unreformed (in every sense) and thus are as bad as or worse than the Turks:

> We fight against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. And what marvel then, our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us?" (19)

Foxe's criticism is ultimately aimed not at the Turks but at the remnants of papist religion in England: "Our temples with images, our hearts with idolatry are polluted" (19); "[our] works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies" fight against Christ (19). Further, in commenting on the defeat of the Christians at Varna, he notes "that there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there ever any war prospered which was taken in hand by the pope's council" (33), which explains why the Turks overcome all Catholic armies.

In Foxe's relatively brief account, there is little scope for dialogue, and he is more likely to quote pious Christians than the sultans.[51] Foxe does quote the virtuous advice that Bayazid II gave to his son Selim ("Not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did," 47), but more often the Turks who are quoted are victims of a sultan's cruelty or loyal servants protesting an act they have been commanded to perform. When Mehmed II orders the death of his infant half-brother, a basha named Moses remonstrates with him; the curses of the child's mother are also described (though not quoted directly).[52] Foxe reports the sultan's matter-of-fact response: "he answered that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren [be] destroyed" (36).

Characteristically, in relating the battle of Varna, he taxes the Catholic prelates involved with "filthy falsehood and untruth" (34), but he omits the dramatic appeal of Murad II to Christ, which is highlighted in every other version of the incident.

However, even Foxe cannot resist quoting a sultan in a favorable light when it serves his own purposes. He tells the well-known story of Mehmed II's discovery of Christian treasure after the fall of Constantinople. To shame those Christians who either half-heartedly supported or did not at all support resistance to the Ottomans, Mehmed exclaims: "[H]ow could it be that this place could ever lack munitions and fortification, which did . . . abound with such great riches as here are?" (38). Foxe also quotes directly Mehmed's scorn for a crucifix. After the fall of Constantinople, he attached his own hand-written inscription, *"Hoc est christianorum Deus"* (This is the God of the Christians), to a crucifix taken from St. Sophia, and he ordered it paraded about the city for his soldiers to spit upon (38). Foxe's comment on this anecdote criticizes the Popish veneration of images, so in this case he agrees with the sultan.

## Conclusion

On balance, these histories of the Turks, translated or written in English between 1542 and 1600, suggest that European Christians were fascinated by Ottomans and considered it important to study their history and customs. The historians and their translators wanted to understand the causes of the Turks' success and recommended that western princes emulate them in order to defeat them. However, they also admired the Ottomans for unity, martial excellence, and strict justice, qualities which they sometimes felt were lacking in their own societies. While English translators faithfully transmitted their sources, their prefaces and marginalia usually exhibit a greater degree of Christian militancy. Heirs of the Protestant tradition of equating Pope and the Great Turk as the twin representatives of the Antichrist, they emphasize doctrinal difference and the sufferings of Christians under "Turkish tyranny." Significantly, the most unrelentingly hostile account is that of Foxe, who also relies most heavily on German Protestant sources (rather than French or Italian ones) and produces an independent synthesis rather than a translation. It might be argued that Foxe represents an undiluted "English view" of the Turks, but his hatred for the Turks far outstrips the sentiments expressed by other English clerics and Protestant activists, such as Grafton and Ashton,

and contrasts with the calm, more pragmatic tone of Shute, who entirely admires the military "judgement" of the sultans.

The translators communicated to English readers not only the views of the original authors, but also "notable sayings" of the sultans. While some of the sultans' words probably scandalized Christian readers, others represented them in a favorable even virtuous light. Even anecdotes that exhibited the sultans in moments of weakness or despair had the indirect effect of humanizing them. Barleti's proximity to the events he describes enabled him to convey to western Christians a text that rivaled the complexity and detail of the eastern histories to be discussed in chapter 4. Of the works considered above, his account is the richest in quotations and the most "narrativized," in Hayden White's sense of the term. This may explain why Jones elected to translate it eighty years after its initial publication, although the story of Scanderbeg was already available in Ashton's and Shute's translations. Jones' translation of Barleti's vivid text may also have been the impetus for a most unfortunately lost play, *The True History of George Scanderbeg* (1601). While Barleti includes many direct quotations that complicate our relationship to various sultans, he also attempts to control the reception of their words. Whereas Giovio and Cambini relied on undigested "linear" quotations and often did not comment upon them, Barleti's commentary is dialogic in technique (since it relies on indirect discourse) but monologic in effect, since it vigorously and consistently asserts a Christian point of view.

The next chapter considers Bayazid I and his kin in Christopher Marlowe's *1, 2 Tamburlaine* and compares this landmark play with its sources and analogues. Widely read in continental versions of the story, and writing just one year before the publication of Latin extracts from an official Ottoman history, Marlowe imagined a sultan who departed from the alleged stereotype of the raging Turk and embodied the spirit (if not the letter) of the Turks' own chronicles. His play suggests that early modern drama could enter into imaginative dialogue with the Ottomans and the Muslim east in ways that even the most narrativized histories could not.

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# Chapter 3

# Marlowe's Turks

Recent studies of *1,2 Tamburlaine* have varied in their themes and emphases,[1] but for nearly a hundred years, few critics have disagreed with the view of Joseph Q. Adams that "the establishment of the Turk as a popular and clearly marked type on the public stage must be credited to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, which in 1587 startled the London playgoers and set other dramatists at imitation."[2] After *Tamburlaine*, he asserts:

> the swarthy-faced Mohammedan with his turban and crooked falchion haunted the stage. As a villain he was represented as the incarnation of ambition, cruelty, sensuality, and treachery; as a hero, of course, he was made to "prove the rule," and, as in Heywood and Shakespeare, was endowed with admirable qualities.[3]

I defer to other scholars who have corrected Adams's (and others') assumption that the "Turk" and Muslims in general were seen as "swarthy-faced,"[4] but in one respect Adams is correct: Marlowe was apparently the first professional dramatist to portray an Ottoman sultan on the public stage.[5] Further, as far as I can tell, Marlowe is the first western writer to have put words into the mouth of Bayazid I. For a contemporary portrait of the sultan see (figure 3.1). As mentioned earlier, several sixteenth-century historical accounts quote Timūr, but while Bayazid is honorably represented, he does not speak. However, whether the sultan as imagined by Marlowe actually exhibits—and would have been seen by a sixteenth-century audience as exhibiting—the qualities Adams specifies ("ambition, cruelty, sensuality, and treachery") is a question to be asked. Is Bajazeth rightly viewed as the

**Figure 3.1** Portrait of Bayazid I from Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

original of "the raging Turk" on the stage, and is Marlowe's play, as Nabil Matar has argued, partly responsible for the creation of "Muslim Otherness" in the culture as a whole?[6]

In my view, this question can only be addressed by comparing Marlowe's play to representations of Bayazid, and of the sultans generally, in histories and other works about the Ottomans that preceded and followed Marlowe's play. This chapter therefore undertakes a case study of Marlowe's Bajazeth. While critics have vigorously debated the significance of Tamburlaine's heterodox views and the degree to which audiences may have admired or condemned him, they have taken for granted that Bajazeth is at best a one-dimensional stereotype of rage, or worse a buffoon, and that this image of the Ottoman sultans was transmitted to and reproduced by later playwrights. This assumption, I will argue, is unwarranted on several grounds. First, as we have seen, the early modern response to rage was itself more complex than that assumed by many modern commentators. Second, the historical sources are ambivalent about Bayazid. They associate him with both rage and clemency at the Battle of Nicopolis, and while they welcome his defeat at Ancora, they pity the sultan in captivity. Third, Marlowe adapts the Bayazid of the sources to his own radical vision in ways that cannot be reduced to degradation or recuperation. Though proud before and after his defeat, Bajazeth is neither "the incarnation of ambition, cruelty, sensuality, and treachery" nor the heroic exception that "proves the rule" of Turkish vice. Finally, after Marlowe's play, dramatic portrayals of Turkish sultans are both positive and negative, and the final glimpse of Bayazid on the public stage in 1600 is entirely sympathetic.

## Bayazid I in Anecdotal Collections and Histories before Marlowe

Western European responses to Timūr's victory over the Turks varied widely between the Battle of Ancora (Ankara) in 1402 and the first performance of Marlowe's play. Bayazid's defeat came shortly after his victory over the Christian armies at Nicopolis (1396), and at the time several European monarchs wrote letters of congratulation to Timūr and welcomed his overtures for peaceful trade with the west.[7] But later histories often took quite a different tone. Bayazid I was prominent among the sultans admired for military prowess and was known by the epithet "Hildrin" or "Gilderun" ("The Lightning Bolt"). Though many western writers portrayed him as a fratricide and a tyrant during the early years of his reign,[8] he was also admired for his

swiftness and success in expanding the empire. The specific sources of *1,2 Tamburlaine* have been extensively investigated,[9] but most scholars have concentrated on the factual details adopted or altered by Marlowe: the relative size of the two armies and ages of the commanders; the use of white, red, and black banners or tents, or both, to signal the fate of a besieged city; whether the prostrate Bayazid is humbled as a "footstool" or as a "mounting-block"; whether he is fed scraps from Timūr's table, and so on. They less often note the degree to which historians sympathize with the sultan after his defeat. For Bayazid and Timūr are, like Shakespeare's Richard II and Bolingbroke, a dyad, on opposite sides of Fortune's wheel. Just as audiences tend to sympathize with Richard as his fortunes decline and Bolingbroke's increase, in chronicling Bayazid's career, few sixteenth-century historians take pleasure in his fate.

In anecdotal collections, Bayazid and Timūr are used to illustrate a particular moral principle, but in their incidental comments the authors are as likely to criticize Timūr as Bayazid. In *De dictis fasctisque memorabilis collectaneae* (1509), Baptista Fulgosius criticizes Timūr's "undue presumption . . ., since setting no store by the ups-and-downs of fortune he shut Bajazet up in a cage."[10] Paolo Giovio, in *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Warlike sayings of men famous for bravery, 1551), emphasizes Timūr's "unheard-of ferocity and cruelty of spirit" and asserts that he "was never sated with piling up insults onto this wretched man, so recently a monarch of great renown."[11] Giovio does include one of the traditional anecdotes in which Timūr justifies his cruelty.[12] In Giovio's version, a Ligurian merchant presumes to challenge Timūr's behavior toward Bayazid, and Timūr retorts "that he was imposing a fitting punishment not on a proud king who possessed nobility and power, but on a wicked and ungodly criminal, who had killed his own elder brother in a most cruel manner."[13] Ultimately, however, Giovio's sympathies veer back to "great Bajazet." The verses with which he concludes his account describe Timūr (not Bayazid) as raging and emphasize the irony of Timūr's death, in which the great conqueror is brought down by a "little fever."[14] Neither figure is viewed wholly positively, but in the end Giovio condemns Timūr's behavior and character more than the sultan's.

Pedro Mexía's *Silva de varia lección* (1542) is generally viewed as one of Marlowe's chief sources, either in translation or in the original. In the earlier of two English versions (*The Forest or Collection of Histories*, 1571), Thomas Fortescue reports that Bayazid slew his brother and subsequently grew "to [have] more wealth and [to be]

more feared than any prince in the world," but he also depicts him as an "expert captain" who resisted "in person valiantly the furious rage of the enemy [Timūr]."[15] Fortescue does not discuss the sultan's specific humiliations. Rather, he emphasizes that one should not trust in riches and pomp, since Bayazid, "of noble race and lineage," was constrained "to live an abject, in most loathsome and vile servitude."[16]

The theme of George Whetstone's version of Mexía is articulated in the full title: *The English Myrror: A Regard Wherein Al estates may behold the Conquests of Envy, containing ruin of common weales, murther of Princes, causes of heresies, and . . . spoile of devine and humane blessings* . . . (1586). The story of Bayazid appears as a digression in an account of the death of Alexander the Great. Whetstone, like others, describes Timūr as barbarous but equal to the "illustrious captains" of Greece and Rome in "conquest and military disciplines."[17] Compared to Fortescue, Whetstone is more critical of Timūr and more sympathetic to Bayazid. He includes a version of the anecdote in which Timūr rejects criticism of his cruelty to conquered peoples. In Whetstone's version, the merchant's advice is described as "good counsel, [which] Tamburlaine in his fury regarded not."[18] As for Bayazid, Whetstone, like Fortescue, asserts that the sultan slew his brother but was a military leader of "worthiness and wonderful prowess."[19] He frames Bayazid's wars on the Christians as "revenge [for] the death of his father," Murad I, killed by a Serbian soldier at Kosovo in 1389, thus suggesting that he was motivated by filial piety not bloodlust or ambition.[20] Further, he views Bayazid's clash with Timūr with undisguised admiration, as a noble battle of the Titans:

> These two puissant captains, in whom wanted neither valour, policy [skill] nor any advantage of war, with equal courages mutually consented to abide the fortune of battle. . . . And so . . . they began the fiercest battle that in any age was fought.[21]

Ultimately, Bayazid is "a notable example of the uncertainty of worldly fortunes," but Whetstone understands wounded class pride: that "which might most grieve him, he was thus abased by . . . a poor shepherd."[22] As a final example, John Bishop, in his collection *Beautiful Blossoms* (1577), highlights Timūr's rage, not Bayazid's. He reports that the sultan's ghost (or "the Devil in his likeness") haunted Timūr and warned him: "thou shalt worthily be paid for thy manifold outrages, and I too shall be revenged for the wearisome wrong that thou diddest to me, making me to die like unto a beast in mine own dung."[23] Bishop depicts Timūr as so stricken by the sultan's reproaches

that they "did near . . . bereave him of his wits, and so raving always upon Bajazeth [he] died."[24] Thus, Bishop attributes to Timūr the raving death later ascribed by some to Bayazid.

In full-length historical works, judgments on Bayazid and Timūr are, as one might expect, more complex than in the anecdotal collections. As translated by Ashton, Giovio's account of Bayazid's reign occupies fourteen octavo pages, of which only two and a half are devoted to his struggle with Timūr. Giovio begins by asserting that Bayazid was a fratricide and given to "cruel foragings over Europe" but also "very politic and wise, of body valiant, and of high courage,. . . [and] chiefly witty to foresee and procure occasions how to enlarge his Empire."[25] Giovio spends nine pages on the Battle of Nicopolis, in which Bajazeth defeated Christian forces and slaughtered many prisoners (as described by Schiltberger in chapter 1). The episode occasions many epithets and an ironic "exception to the rule." Giovio reports that the usual "cruelty" of the Turks was "respited" in favor of their "covetous[ness]": Bayazid spared the lives of 300 prisoners "to get thereby greater riches for their ransoms" (fol. x$^{r}$). Echoing the class consciousness of those numbering the dead at Agincourt in *Henry V*, Giovio reports approvingly that Bayazid "gently" spared the life of several noblemen, including the Earl of Niverne, "both [for] his age, and . . . the nobility of his blood (which descendeth of kings)," but he also writes that the sultan commanded many others to be "cruelly" slain (fol. [x$^{v}$]).[26]

Giovio describes the battle of Ancora in the briefest of terms: Bayazid "joined in battle with Tamburlaine and there was overcome" (fol. [xii$^{v}$]). Timūr's treatment of his captive is also summarized swiftly: "In this fight Tamburlaine took Bayazet prisoner, and afterward bound him with chains of gold and so continually carried him in a cage of iron, round about all Asia and Syria, until death rid him of his misery" (fol. [xii$^{v}$]–xiii$^{r}$). Overall, in Giovio's account of Bayazid's reign, while the sultan's cruelty is not elided, neither is Timūr's. Ashton's marginal comments highlight both positive and negative elements:

> Bayazet began his kingdom with the slaughter of his brother. (fol. [vi$^{v}$])
> How Bayazet revenged his father's death. (fol. [vi$^{v}$])
> What a man Bayazet was [next to a list of his virtues]. (fol. vii$^{r}$)
> Why Bayazet was called Hildrin. (fol. vii$^{r}$)
> The gentleness of Bayazet in sparing of the noble blood. (fol. x$^{r}$)

Although Ashton asked rhetorically in his preface, "May we not be glad to hear tell that Tamburlaine took the great Turk Bajazet prisoner

and . . . used him like a vile drudge?" (sig. [*iii$^{v}$]), in recounting Bayazid's life, neither Giovio nor Ashton suggest that Timūr's treatment of him was deserved nor appear to take pleasure in it themselves.

Cambini's *Libro . . . delle origine de Turchi*, translated by Shute in 1562 and also known to Marlowe, is similarly evenhanded. Cambini portrays the young Bayazid as an aggressive conqueror, who took Macedonia, Serbia, and Bosnia and "went on consuming and destroying the countries,"[27] but he describes Timūr's early career in much the same terms. After liberating his own country from the Parthians, Cambini writes, Timūr "with great violence . . . assailed the countries near unto him . . . and brought under his yoke Mesopotamia and the greater Armenia."[28] In the climactic battle, Bajazeth "knew himself to be far inferiour in number," but the sultan fought "valiantly a long time in person, till . . . his horse was slain under him."[29] Like Giovio, Cambini merely summarizes the events of Bajazeth's captivity, concluding that Timūr "held him prisoner during his life in most miserable calamity."[30] Although the summary remains neutral, the phrase "most miserable calamity" views things from the sultan's perspective.

Cambini also repeats the common view that "[I]f God by extraordinary means, had not provided for it, the city of [C]onstantinople" would have fallen into "the hands of the most cruel and barbarous nation of [the] Turks."[31] He admires the "great discipline and order" that Timūr maintained over his army: he would "not leave unpunished the least violence that was committed, not so much as the taking away of one handful of grass against the owner's good will."[32] But Cambini concludes his account by stressing "his great cruelty" (to Bayazid and others) on account of which he "did not deserve to have his fame celebrated by writing."[33] Ultimately, like Giovio, Cambini views Bayazid and Timūr comparably, and neither monarch earns unmixed condemnation or praise.

Of Marlowe's major sources, only Perondinus's *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita*, (1553) attributes "rage" to Bayazid in captivity. Perondinus is clearly in sympathy with the Byzantine Christians; his book is dedicated to the Patriarch of Alexandria,[34] and he criticizes Bayazid's decision "avariciously and impiously to gain possession" of Constantinople.[35] He presents at some length the Greek emperor's appeal to western Christendom. Failing to secure their help, the emperor offered his throne to Timūr in order to keep it from the Turks. In this effort, he was successful: "The affair aroused [Timūr's] sense of mercy more than any inexorable slaughter could have done. . . . For it is something deep in nature, that the afflictions of the unfortunate often attract the minds of others towards a sense of

mercy."[36] Such confident assertions about Timūr's state of mind and generalizations about human nature make Perondinus's the most narrativized of these accounts, to use Hayden White's term.

Although Perondinus views Timūr as blessed by fortune and "preeminent in his warriorlike attributes over all mortals who had gone before,"[37] he also presents Timūr and Bayazid as two of a kind. Just as Bayazid "impiously" attacked Constantinople, Timūr attacked Bayazid because his "ambitious and naturally pugnacious mind . . . grew so incensed that it seemed to him . . . no part of the entire Eastern world should escape his dominion."[38] When he ravaged Turkish cities, he authorized "terrifying slaughters," and "no restrictions of sex were placed on the killings."[39] In one respect, Perondinus's Timūr seems less admirable than Bayazid: Timūr was a man "both cruel and shifty," who often conquered by deceit rather than force of arms,[40] whereas the portrait of Bayazid includes no instances of guile.

Perondinus also provides inside views of Bayazid that attest to his personal courage. When Timūr's forces rapidly advanced, Bayazid "showed no signs of alarm at all and his mind was unshaken."[41] He fought bravely and commanded his army shrewdly, but in the end "he fell alive into the power of Tamerlane."[42] The emphasis falls ominously on the word "alive." Like previous commentators, Perondinus highlights the "degrading and vile punishment inflicted on Bayazed," the "savagery . . . pour[ed] out on that most wretched of men."[43] Perondinus includes both anecdotes in which Timūr justifies his behavior, but he frames each with a critical comment. The assertion that Bayazid murdered his brother and thus deserves his fate is cited as an instance of Timūr's extreme "severity,"[44] and his justification for the slaughter of the virgins ("I am the Wrath of the greatest God") is presented even more negatively, as an example of his "Brutal and atrocious manner of speech."[45]

In contrast to the historians discussed above, Perondinus describes in detail the sultan's sufferings in captivity:

> In this great shame that he was undergoing, Bayazed was pierced through by rage, seized by grief, and overwhelmed with insult; he begged for death, and, when in his right mind, made an inexorably determined vow to take his own life. By repeated blows against the iron bars of his cage he smashed his head . . . and so brought about his unhappy, mournful fate.[46]

His account most closely anticipates the scenes in Marlowe's play, depicting the sultan's rage as approaching madness ("when in his

right mind"). The inside views are couched in abstract generalities ("seized by grief") and speech acts (he "begged for death" and "made [a] . . . vow") rather than in specific words or trains of thought, but Bayazid's suffering is neither mocked nor relished. By the end of this account, the sultan emerges as the unfortunate victim of a relentless foe.

The source least sympathetic to Bayazid is (as one might expect) John Foxe's *History and Tyranny of the Turks*. (The edition of the *Acts and Monuments* in which his *History* first appears contains a woodcut of Henry VIII resting his foot on the Pope's back, thus echoing Timūr's use of the captive sultan as a "footstool.") Foxe's Bayazid is a fratricide and "cruel tyrant." In reporting the battle of Nicopolis, Foxe omits any mention of clemency and says only that Bayazid "carried away Duke John . . . into Prusia [Brusa], where before his [the Duke's] face he caused all the other Christian prisoners to be cut in pieces."[47] As William Brown has observed, Foxe views Timūr's "harsh treatment of Bajazeth with complete sympathy and approval."[48] Foxe compares the sultan to the Roman Emperor Valerianus, who oversaw "the eighth persecution of the primitive church"; just as Valerianus "was punished by God through "Sapores King of the Persians," so "likewise was Bajazetes this persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlanes."[49] Brown argues that Foxe is the source on which Marlowe's "debasement" of Bajazeth depends, but Foxe's militantly Christian view of history and his gleeful moralizing on Bajazeth's fate, I will argue, are wholly alien to the tone of Marlowe's play.

Overall, in anecdotal collections and histories, Bayazid is not romanticized, but neither is he depicted as ignoble or dominated by insensate "rage." The authors treat him as one of many victims of Fortune's wheel, and they stress Timūr's savagery to one of noble blood. With the exception of Foxe, they give Bayazid his due as a commander and present him as less cruel than Timūr. In Perondinus's account, where he is associated with rage, he resembles Hercules rather than Herod, a victim rather than a villain. At the same time, while Timūr is quoted on several occasions in the sources, the sultan never speaks. Although it is significant that some historians seem moved to take his part, the historical record as they received it included no dialogue for Bayazid, and they did not choose (or presume) to put words in his mouth.[50] In Marlowe's play, of course, the situation is radically altered. The presence of (literal) dialogue for the sultan results in a far more dialogic encounter with him and the empire he represents.

## Bayazid I in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*

Thomas and Tydeman, Ellis-Fermor, Samuel Chew, William Brown, and John D. Jump, among others, have discussed Marlowe's factual departures from the historical accounts of Timur and Bayazid. Marlowe's Tamburlaine is young and relatively untried when he defeated Bajazeth, not a seasoned commander as in the histories. Similarly, Bajazeth's forces are made to outnumber Tamburlaine's, whereas in most accounts they were equally matched or less numerous.[51] These alterations, they argue, enhance the figure of Tamburlaine at Bajazeth's expense. In other ways as well, critics have read Marlowe's portrayal of the sultan as a negative departure from the sources. Although the greatness of Tamburlaine "would have been enhanced, not lessened, had the dramatist conceived his principal opponent as worthy of his steel," Chew argues that "[p]rejudice against the Turks . . . led [Marlowe] to portray the Sultan as insolently boastful before the battle and impotently raging when a prisoner."[52] Thomas and Tydeman, agreeing with Brown, conclude that Marlowe's changes resulted in a "debasement of the Turkish Emperor [that] is far more thoroughgoing and radical than that of any of his putative sources."[53] Jump similarly asserts that Marlowe transformed Bajazeth "from a courageous leader into an undignified braggart leading a numerically stronger army to disaster."[54] Going further, Süheyla Artemel suggests that Marlowe's version of the story recalls the "buffoonery and ridicule" of the medieval St. George plays, in which the hero comically overcomes a Turkish Knight.[55] Though Daniel Vitkus focuses on religious and philosophic issues, he, too, alludes in passing to "the bluster and pride of Marlowe's Bajazeth."[56]

Not mentioned by these critics, but perhaps strengthening their case, is the issue of religion. Although all characters were historically Muslim, religious difference in *Part 1* is associated chiefly with Bajazeth and Zabina. Together they name Mahomet or invoke his aid seven times.[57] Only two other characters refer to the Prophet, both in highly qualified, even skeptical ways,[58] and in *Part 2*, Tamburlaine rejects Mohamet as a false "god" and burns the Koran (5.1.171–200). In addition, the Turks (and to a lesser extent the pirates of "Argiers") are alluded to on several occasions as the chief oppressors of Christians, whose liberty Tamburlaine will secure.[59] Presumably, these references to religion would have counted against Bajazeth and his queen in the minds of early modern spectators. On the other hand, Marlowe ignores the details of Bayazid's career before Ancora. Thus, he is neither a fratricide, nor the commander who slaughtered many

prisoners and "gently" spared others at Nicopolis. He simply enters "*in great pomp*" (3.1.0, SD) as the powerful Ottoman Emperor, confident in his forces and irritated by the upstart "eastern thieves/ Under the conduct of one Tamburlaine" (3.1.2–3).

On close inspection, however, Marlowe's alleged "debasement" of Bajazeth does not square with a reading of the play as a whole. Ellis-Fermor and Brown conclude that the sultan is debased in part because Marlowe dramatizes the incidents recorded in the histories: the sultan's imprisonment in an iron cage, his being used as a "footstool," and his being fed scraps from Tamburlaine's table. It is true Marlowe's Bajazeth is subjected to these humiliations. Marlowe could have elected to omit them, but they were essential to Tamburlaine's challenge to the norms civilized behavior (east or west) and his single-minded adherence to no standards but his own. Further, as we have seen, in the sources these incidents call into question Timur's character (his humanity, his respect for noble opponents, etc.) not Bayazid's. So the real question seems to be whether dramatizing (rather than merely narrating and summarizing) them automatically debases the sultan. While one might agree that witnessing such events onstage in real time is more powerful than contemplating them for the space of a few sentences in a narrative, it does not follow that dramatization *per se* "demeans" the sultan, any more than the dramatization of Lear's and Gloucester's humiliations demeans them. One might speculate, rather, that as in *King Lear* it inspires criticism of the tormenters and sympathy for the victim. The question can only be answered by a close reading of these scenes in the context of the play as a whole. Marlowe does stack the deck in favor of Tamburlaine's heroic charisma; at the same time, the play, like the sources, maintains a complex view of Bajazeth, acknowledging both his pride and the unmerited harshness of his fate. By dramatizing the sultan's sufferings—and giving him words with which to express them—Marlowe enhances not diminishes his stature. Moreover, by placing sympathetic commentary into the mouths of other characters, Marlowe both encourages and prevents pity for the sultan, which is entirely apt: Bajazeth remains defiant even in captivity and desires not pity but freedom and dignity.

Several critics fault Bajazeth for "bombast" and boasting, but it is not clear that Marlowe's contemporaries would have seen the sultan in this way. As Emily Bartels has noted, Bajazeth, Cosroe, and Tamburlaine all engage in self-aggrandizing rhetoric; it is the chief heroic currency of the play.[60] Bajazeth is conscious—even jealous—of his status. He is identified as "Emperor" in the *dramatis personae*. As he enters in act 3.3, he commands his "Bassoes and janissaries" to

"attend upon the person of your lord, /The greatest potentate of Africa" (3.3.61–63).[61] It seems illogical to describe his words as "bombast," however, since they accurately describe his past deeds and his military might:

> Now shalt thou feel the force of Turkish arms,
> Which lately made all Europe quake for fear.
> I have of Turks, Arabians, Moors and Jews
> Enough to cover all Bithynia. (3.3.134–37)

If part of Tamburlaine's appeal lies in his defeat of the chief threat to Christendom, it is essential that Bajazeth's assertions of his power be seen as accurate, not mere braggadocio. When flattered by his "contributory kings," Bajazeth does seem to accept such flattery as his due:

> *King of Argier:* They say he is the king of Persia,
> But if he dare attempt to stir your siege
> 'Twere requisite he should be ten times more,
> For all flesh quakes at your magnificence.
> *Bajazeth:* True, Argier, and tremble at my looks.
> *King of Fez:* The spring is hindered by your smothering host,
> For neither rain can fall upon the earth
> Nor sun reflex his virtuous beams thereon,
> The ground is mantled with such multitudes.
> *Bajazeth:* All this is true as holy Mahomet,
> And all the trees are blasted with our breaths. (3.1.45–55)

Bajazeth's lines tend to be read as a naïve and enthusiastic reception of his subordinates' praise, though I can imagine an actor speaking them with the weary irony of a battle-seasoned commander.[62] However, even if these lines are not spoken ironically, their alleged arrogance must still be considered in the context of the play as a whole.

Viewed in this light, Bajazeth's confident speeches mark him as a far more worthy opponent than the weak and weakminded king of Persia, Mycetes. Cosroe and his generals are embarrassed by Mycetes's self-admitted lack of "great and thund'ring speech" (1.1.3) and his consequent inability to command the respect of his court. They mock him to his face and plot successfully to use Tamburlaine to unseat him. By contrast, Bajazeth responds hotly to Tamburlaine's calculated presumption in referring to the sultan as "that Bajazeth" (3.3.65). Bajazeth also contrasts favorably with Cosroe, Mycetes's successor and Tamburlaine's second victim. Tamburlaine tricks Cosroe into thinking that he (Tamburlaine) will subordinate his interests to Cosroe's and

then displaces him. Bajazeth, on the other hand, though he offers a "truce" to Tamburlaine, is never deceived by him; from the first, he plans to oppose any military incursion if Tamburlaine "be so mad as to manage arms with [him]" (3.1.34). Bajazeth's proud speeches show chiefly that he can match Tamburlaine, boast for boast, classical reference for classical reference, image for bloody image—or rather that Tamburlaine dialogically matches *him*:

> *Bajazeth:* Let thousands die, their slaughtered carcasses
> Shall serve for walls and bulwarks to the rest;
> And as the heads of Hydra, so my power,
> Subdued, shall stand as mighty as before:
> If they should yield their necks unto the sword,
> Thy soldiers' arms could not endure to strike
> So many blows as I have heads for thee.
> Thou knowest not, foolish-hardy Tamburlaine,
> What 'tis to meet me in the open field,
> That leave no ground for thee to march upon.
> *Tamburlaine:* Our conquering swords shall marshal us the way
> We use to march upon the slaughtered foe,
> Trampling their bowels with our horses' hoofs . . .
> My camp is like to Julius Caesar's host
> That never fought but had the victory. . . .
> Legions of spirits fleeting in the air
> Direct our bullets and our weapons' points,
> And make your strokes to wound the senseless air. (3.3.138–58)

Far from disdaining such high-flown rhetoric, the characters in Marlowe's play pride themselves on their mastery of it. Bajazeth is unexpectedly defeated by Tamburlaine, fortune's minion; but as the head of the world's most powerful empire, he can hardly be faulted for holding up his end of the ritual boasting.

One might argue that in the instance quoted above Tamburlaine's bloody images are meant to mock Bajazeth's, or are at least inspired by them, and a case can be made for this view. Tamburlaine's language is initially marked by cosmic and geographic images too familiar to need rehearsing here. In acts 1 and 2, he also stresses the glorious prizes he seeks (the glittering spoils of gold, silk, and gems and the intangible rewards of fame and dominion) rather than the bloody price his soldiers and his opponents will pay for them. Thus, for example, he woos Zenocrate with wealth and luxury:

> Thy garments shall be made of Median silk,
> Enchased with precious jewels of mine own . . .

> My martial prizes with five hundred men
> Won on the fifty-headed Volga's waves
> Shall all we offer to Zenocrate. (1.2.95–104)

Similarly, he wins Theridamas with displays of golden booty as well as martial rhetoric:

> I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains
> And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about. . . .
> See how [Jove] rains down heaps of gold in showers
> As if he meant to give my soldiers pay. (1.2.174–83)

Having subdued Bajazeth, however, Tamburlaine's images become more violent and bloody:

> My sword struck fire from his coat of steel,
> Even in Bythinia, when I took this Turk,
> As when a fiery exhalation,
> . . . makes the welkin crack,
> And casts a flash of lightning to the earth. . .
> Then, when the sky shall wax as red as blood,
> It shall be said I made it red myself,
> To make me think of naught but blood and war. (4.2.41–55)

And both his cruelty and his rhetoric escalate as he subdues Damascus:

> Now hang our bloody colours by Damascus,
> Reflexing hues of blood upon their heads
> While they walk quivering on their city walls,
> Half dead for fear before they feel my wrath. (4.4.1–4)

In *Part 2*, images of blood and violent death predominate in his speeches. While Tamburlaine may mimic Bajazeth's bloody images in 3.3, his actual cruelty (especially in act 4, where the virgins' "carcasses" are strung up on the walls of Damascus, and the still-living governor is used for target practice) is not based on a Turkish model. He follows his own protocol of the white, red, and black banners, slaughtering every civilian inhabitant of the town. Bajazeth, in the speech quoted above, by contrast, imagines only the carnage in a traditional pitched battle: "Thy *soldiers' arms* could not endure to strike so many blows as I have heads for thee" (3.3.142–43, emphasis added).

Although Bajazeth's rhetoric prior to the battle is not matched by his success on the field, in defeat he earns respect as well as sympathy.

Once again, his behavior contrasts favorably with the Persian monarch Mycetes's feeble efforts to escape capture by shedding the crown ("So shall I not be known") and seeking to bury it ignominiously in a "hole" in the ground (2.4.13–15). Bajazeth accepts defeat ("Ah, fair Zabina, we have lost the field" 3.3.233–38). However, he predicts the eventual resurgence of Ottoman power (3.3.242–43), and it was well known that Timūr's empire was short lived.

Bajazeth's speeches in captivity have struck some as "impotent raging," but, as noted in chapter 1, Marlowe' contemporaries would not have expected an emperor in captivity to "bear it tamely." He calls on "Ye holy priests of Heavenly Mahomet" to "suck up poison from the moorish fens/And pour it in this glorious tyrant's throat" (4.2.6–7). He resists Tamburlaine's command to "fall prostrate": "First shalt thou rip my bowels with thy sword/And sacrifice my heart to death and hell,/Before I yield to such a slavery" (4.2.16–18). Forced to abase himself, he prays that the "dread god of hell,/With ebon sceptre strike this hateful earth/ And make it swallow both of us at once" (4.2.27–29). At one point, a stage direction for the sultan recalls Herod in his rage. When offered food, Bajazeth *"takes it [the meat] and stamps upon it* (4.4.41, SD). But here stamping has an object (the food he spurns) rather than expressing childish frustration. When Bajazeth realizes he must eat to survive and Zabina persuades him to "live in spite of them" (4.4.98), he remains defiant. Tamburlaine asks if he will have a "clean trencher," and Bajazeth responds, "Ay, tyrant, and more meat" (4.4.100–01).

Unlike the sources, Marlowe makes slight use of the anecdotes in which Tamburlaine justifies his ill-treatment of Bajazeth or other victims. Tamburlaine claims to "hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains/And with [his] hand turn Fortune's wheel about" (1.2.174–75) and boasts in other classical terms of his invincibility. He also acknowledges that he is "*termed* the scourge and wrath of God" by others (3.3.44–45, emphasis added), but this line is uttered among his captains, as they prepare to meet the Turks; it serves to inspire confidence before the battle, not to justify his behavior toward the sultan after it. As he uses the sultan for a footstool, however, he does imply that "heaven[s]" would not object to "behold/ Their scourge and terror tread on emperors" (4.2.31–32), but "emperors" (plural) are targeted, and Marlowe omits altogether the claim that the sultan, having achieved the throne by murdering his brother, has forfeited the respect due a captive monarch.

Some who find Bajazeth's character initially debased concede that he earns sympathy in captivity. Ellis-Fermor grudgingly grants Bajazeth

at least a "certain consistency," since "his futile defiance . . . is the counterpart of his earlier insolence."[63] (Bajazeth and the Turks, of course, view the upstart shepherd Tamburlaine as the insolent and "presumptuous" one; see 3.1.4 and 3.3.68.) More generous, Jump asserts that Marlowe allows Bajazeth in the speeches leading to his suicide "a dignity lacking both to his arrogant pronouncements before his defeat and to his malignant railings after it" (xviii). Although Jonathan Burton finds Bajazeth's character demonized in acts 1–4, he concurs that both Bajazeth and Zabina are "marked by a contrasting humanization" in act 5.[64] To a sixteenth-century audience Bajazeth's determination to free himself through suicide, though crudely achieved, would have testified to his noble nature. As noted above, Perondinus writes sympathetically of "the great shame that [the sultan] was undergoing" and how, "pierced through by rage,. . . seized by grief, and overwhelmed with insult" he "begged for death."[65] Fulgosius, after discussing Bajazeth's humiliations, implies that kings bound in "so foul and miserable a form of servitude" who did not "seek to free themselves in death" might be criticized as "overzealous to preserve their lives."[66]

Bajazeth's final speech before his suicide bespeaks not rage but resolution and defiance. His language is highly colored, but it is not disordered bombast:

> Now Bajazeth, abridge thy baneful days
> And beat thy brains out of thy conquered head,
> Since other means are all forbidden me
> That may be ministers of my decay. . . .
> Let ugly Darkness with her rusty coach
> Engirt with tempests wrapped in pitchy clouds
> Smother the earth with never-fading mists,
> And let her horses from their nostrils breathe
> Rebellious winds and dreadful thunderclaps,
> That in this terror Tamburlaine may live,
> And my pined soul, resolved in liquid air,
> May still excruciate his tormented thoughts. (5.2.223–38)

Although his hope is not realized in the play, Bajazeth prays that, as in Bishop's *Beautifull Blossoms* (quoted earlier), his wronged ghost will haunt Tamburlaine and drive him to madness. In any event, in the death scenes, rage is displaced onto his wife Zabina, whose final lines degenerate from blank verse into disordered prose, conveying her grief and distraction:

> Ah save that infant, save him, save him! I, even I speak to her—the sun was down. Streamers white, red, black, here, here, here! Fling the meat in his face! Tamburlaine, Tamburlaine, let the soldiers be buried . . . make ready my coach, my chair, my jewels, I come, I come, I come! (5.2.250–56)

The deaths of Bajazeth and Zabina inspire pity from no less a witness than Zenocrate. She admonishes heaven "that gave them honour at their birth/And let them die a death so barbarous" (5.2.288–89). She sees their fates as an object lesson for Tamburlaine and begs heaven's pardon for him and for herself:

> Ah mighty Jove and holy Mahomet,
> Pardon my love! O pardon his contempt
> Of earthly fortune and respect of pity, . . .
> And pardon me that was not moved with ruth
> To see them live so long in misery. (5.2.301–09)

Such pity from Tamburlaine's own consort suggests that Bajazeth emerges from Marlowe's play as a sympathetic character, not the debased caricature seen by some modern critics. More important, the sultan maintains his defiance to the end and takes action to end his suffering. Like Cleopatra or Antony or any number of classical heroes, his suicide curtails (though it cannot prevent) his enemy's triumph over him. Indeed, his fate evokes (at least for Zenocrate) the emotions proper to tragedy. Her pity is balanced by the terror of tragic recognition, of what Bajazeth's and Zabina's fates may mean for her husband and even for herself; "Ah Tamburlaine,. . . /Behold the Turk and his great emperess!/ . . . /Ah what may chance to thee, Zenocrate?" (5.2.293–95, 309).

In *Part 2* of Marlowe's play, the dominant Turkish characters Bajazeth's son Callapine and Orcanes, the King of Natolia, are portrayed almost entirely in positive terms. Like Bajazeth and Tamburlaine himself, they still indulge in violent martial rhetoric, as when Orcanes considers rejecting the Christians' offered "truce" (1.1.10): "Our Turkey blades shall glide through all their throats,/ And make this champion mead a bloody fen" (1.131–32). But in *Part 2*, Tamburlaine's rhetoric is far bloodier than the Turks'.[67] When he chastises his "Bastardly boy" Calyphas (1.4.69), who prefers peaceful, "womanish" pursuits to war, Tamburlaine describes the path to power:

> For he shall wear the crown of Persia
> Whose head hath deepest scars, whose breast most wounds. (1.4.74–75)

For in a field whose superficies
Is covered with a liquid purple veil
And sprinkled with the brains of slaughtered men
My royal chair of state shall be advanced,
And he that means to place himself herein
Must armed wade up to the chin in blood. (1.4.79–84)

He imagines a scene like that at Nicoloplis, where the scope of the sultan's wrath inspired his supporters to restrain him: "Such lavish [spillage] will I make of Turkish blood/ That Jove shall send his wingèd messenger/To bid me sheathe my sword and leave the field" (1.6.38–40). But in Tamburlaine's case, there is no mitigating motive of grief for fallen comrades; his sole desire is the "crown" and the "royal chair of state," and to compass them he will "wade up to the chin in blood."

As is well known, a major incident in *Part 2* is based on the Battle of Varna (1444). In the play, Orcanes defeats Sigismund, the king of Hungary who has violated his sacred vow to keep the peace. As in the sources discussed in chapter 2, the Turkish general calls on Christ to support the Turkish cause: "On Christ still let us cry—/If there be Christ, we shall have victory" (2.2.63–64). Apparently, the Christian God responds positively, since Orcanes prevails. When captured by Tamburlaine, Orcanes and his fellows remain defiant, unlike the cowardly Governor of Babylon in act 5, who, having failed to trick his captor with the promise of gold, ignominiously and unsuccessfully pleads for mercy (5.1.152–53).[68]

Bajazeth's son Callapine, for his part, might have been a worthier successor to Tamburlaine's empire than his own progeny. Callapine escapes from Tamburlaine by converting Almeda, his jailer, to his cause. He keeps his word to Almeda, maintains the loyalty of his generals and tributary kings, masses his forces to oppose Tamburlaine, and outlives his foe. Granted, his counteroffensive dissolves when the ailing Tamburlaine unexpectedly appears on the field. The incident is accomplished in the time it takes Tamburlaine to exit and "*[come] out again*" (5.3.114 SD) and thus undercuts some of the stature Callapine has achieved, but Callapine is guilty only of attempting to avenge his father and to preserve himself and his patrimony. More significant, the Ottomans and other Islamic characters in *Part 2* regularly apply to Tamburlaine the epithets that some western historians applied to them. Olympia, the loyal wife of an Ottoman captain, describes his forces as "barbarous Scythians . . . [in] whom was never pity found" (3.4.19–20), and her son prefers death to letting them

"tyrannize" over him (3.4.29). The King of Amasia describes Tamburlaine as a "monster that hath drunk a sea of blood" (5.2.13). It is Tamburlaine, not a Turk, who slaughters civilians as the plot proceeds.[69] Orcanes, having witnessed Tamburlaine's murder of his son for refusing to take part in the battle, asserts, "Thou showest the difference 'twixt ourselves [the Turks] and thee/In this thy barbarous damnèd tyranny" (4.1.137–38). In short, the notion that Marlowe "debased" Bajazeth and significantly contributed to anti-Ottoman prejudice in general oversimplifies and distorts the depiction of the Ottoman characters in the two parts of *Tamburlaine*.

## After *Tamburlaine* to 1603

The influence of and contemporary response to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is legendary. Peter Berek calculates that no fewer than ten of the thirty-eight plays first performed on the public stage between 1587 and 1593 "show clear debts to *Tamburlaine*."[70] As Berek demonstrates, characters of many ethnicities, including Britons, mimic the rhetoric and aspiring mind of Marlowe's hero.[71] In Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, Mark Thornton Burnett finds that both Christian characters (such as Guy, the son of the Duke of Boulogne) and the Soldan of Babylon echo Tamburlaine,[72] and *Tamburlaine*'s influence on Shakespeare's early English history plays has also been extensively noted.[73] The aspiring mind and bloody poetry of Tamburlaine were bequeathed to characters of many different religions and ethnicities.

In the years after *Tamburlaine* to 1603, Ottoman Sultans were frequently depicted on the public stage and in closet drama. On the evidence of published texts and playhouse documents, eighteen plays appear to have included Turkish characters, though only ten are extant. The popularity of Ottoman figures doubtless owes much to *Tamburlaine*, but external events also contributed to their appeal. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 no doubt inspired English writers to depict large-scale struggles between other imperial powers. In 1601, Christian forces recaptured the town of Stuhlweissenburg from the Turks, and this event occasioned one and perhaps two lost plays celebrating Christian resistance. One apparently depicted this very battle; the other (*The True History of George Scanderbeg*, 1601) celebrated the exploits of Scanderbeg, perhaps inspired by Zachary Jones's 1596 translation of Barleti's biography. And, perhaps most important, England's growing commercial and political relations with the empire ensured that interest in the Ottomans also rose steadily.

However, after *Tamburlaine* and before 1603, representations of the Ottomans cannot be reduced to "raging Turks" or derived simplistically from Marlowe's Bajazeth. Rather, as Matthew Dimmock has shown, these plays offer "multiple perspectives" on the Ottomans, and while they draw on familiar sources, each is also "a nuanced and unique reaction to a specific historical moment."[74] In chapters 3 and 5 of his book, Dimmock offers strong readings of post-Armada Ottoman plays that reflected and refracted the ambiguities and contradictions of Anglo-Ottoman relations during the 1590s. For our purposes, however, I want only to note that, contrary to the alleged negative influence of Marlowe's Bajazeth, of the ten extant plays, only four depict the sultans as raging Turks or in other negative terms, while five offer positive, even admiring portraits. (The remaining play, Greville's *Mustapha*, which does not fit easily into either category, will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.)

Of the negative depictions, the most demeaning is the portrait of the Sultan Amurack in *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (ca. 1589, Q 1599). Amurack resembles Herod in his anger at the insubordination of his wife and daughter, and there are structural and rhetorical similarities between the scenes of Bajazeth's captivity and Amurack's. Thus, Amurack proudly rejects Alphonso's initial offer of peace:

> What thinks thou villain, that high Amurack
> Bears such a mind, as for the feare of death,
> He'll yield his daughter, yea his only joy,
> Into the hands of such a dunghill knight?
> No, traitor, no, for as now I lie
> Clapped up in irons, and with balls of steel:
> Yet do there lurk within the Turkish soil
> Such troops of soldiers, that with small ado,
> They'll set me scot free from your men and you.[75]

Ultimately, however, a happy ending is imposed: Alphonsus marries the sultan's daughter, and on the sultan's death he will inherit the empire. The tone of the play thus matches its titular genre of "Comicall Historie."

The unhistorical portrait of Suleyman in *Solyman and Perseda* (ca. 1592) is also problematic. After initially granting refuge and freedom of conscience to the fugitive lovers and defending the civility of his rule, the sultan falls in love with Perseda and seeks her lover's death. Worse, having done so, he suddenly repents and expresses his grief by

dispatching the two Janissaries who executed his command and ordering the death of the witnesses and the judge he suborned. His is a clear instance of Herod-like rage. A version of the story of Suleyman and Perseda is also dramatized (in a play-within-the-play of about fifty lines) in the climactic scene of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (ca. 1587), where it provides a convenient analog for the three-way, star-crossed love affairs in the play proper and accomplishes Heironimo's revenge. It is presented as a famous love story, however, worthy of gracing an aristocratic European wedding, and while Suleyman is the putative villain, he is no more bent on satisfying his own desires than many of the (European) characters in the main play and shows considerably more remorse than several of them.

The most stereotypically raging Turk is the titular character in *Selimus, Emperour of the Turkes* (ca. 1588/9, Q 1594), attributed to Robert Greene. As I have argued elsewhere, while Greene's Selim certainly qualifies as a raging (or icily cruel) Turk, unlike Peele's Amurack, he poses serious (if unorthodox) philosophical and political questions.[76] Like Edmund in *King Lear*, he despises conventional religion:

> Let Mahound's laws be locked up in their case,
> And meaner men and of a baser spirit
> In virtuous action seek for glorious merit.
> I count it sacrilege to be holy,
> Or reverence this thread-bare name of good.[77]

Whereas Tamburlaine sees himself as personally and divinely exempt from human law, and Edmund sets "Nature" against the laws of society, Selim strikes an even more modern note. In a soliloquy of 150 lines, he analyzes law and religion as purely human instruments for the control of society and the support of political power.[78] As we have seen in chapter 2, the historical Selim, as portrayed in histories of the sixteenth century, did in fact embrace a kind of unapologetic *realpolitik*, which the play dialogically engages. No doubt to the average English Christian, such statements were scandalously blasphemous, and the playwright has clearly taken advantage of Selim's otherness to voice a dangerous philosophy. But in so doing, he has given that philosophy a rather compelling voice. Moreover, as Dimmock has pointed out, as the first play to depict Ottoman dynastic struggles in a wholly eastern setting, *Selimus* implicitly deconstructs any monolithic stereotype of the sultan.[79] In addition to the diverse characters of the three sons who are rivals for the throne, the sympathetic portrait of the old sultan,

Bayazid II, also significantly complicates the picture, as it does in the histories discussed earlier.

In contrast to these comic or transgressive sultans, however, five other plays before 1603 feature benign, even admiring, portraits of the sultans and their deputies. These figures carry out their duties as emperors, collecting tribute, expanding their territories, and generously aiding their allies. In *The Battle of Alcazar* (ca. 1589) attributed to George Peele, the Ottoman Sultan is repeatedly invoked as a great and just ruler; his name echoes no fewer than eleven times in the first scene alone, always accompanied by positive epithets ("Great" and "good" and "happy").[80] His forces support the side of right (Abdelmelec and his Portuguese allies) in the struggle for the Moroccan throne and are specifically represented as "sure friends" not mercenaries. As a result Ottoman rule is "legitimized" as a virtuous counterbalance to the power of Spain.[81] *John of Bordeaux or the Second Part of Friar Bacon* depicts an unhistorical siege of Ravenna by Sultan "Amerothe." While (like *Aphonsus*) it is cast in the mode of a "comical history," it does not demean the sultan; on the contrary, the hero and the sultan are bound by "shared conceptions of courtly chivalry."[82] In *Tomumbieus sive Sultanici in Ægypta Imperii Eversi (Tomumbieus or the Overthrow of the Rule of the [Mameluke] Sultan in Egypt)*, a closet drama depicting the conquest of Egypt, Selim I is technically the aggressor, but he is not represented negatively. Rather, the Mameluke Sultan is depicted as weak and cowardly, and his servants not only betray him but murder Selim's envoy, an act viewed by all as an outrage deserving punishment.[83] In addition, Selim Calymath in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1589) definitely fits the positive mold, and Bayazid himself makes a sympathetic appearance in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus.* (A lost play, *The Vayvode* [1598] would probably have also fallen into this group of positive portrayals.[84])

Though not yet a sultan, Marlowe's Selim Calymath is presented as the son of the "Grand Seigneur." Suleyman's successor, Selim II besieged Malta in 1565, so Marlowe may mean to invoke Suleyman's reign as a setting for the play.[85] Although in fact Malta was never a tributary to the Turks, the setting is realistic in its references to the Mediterranean commerce from which Barabas profits, and to the "*pax Turcica*" which fostered and protected trade in exchange for tribute:

> Mine argosy from Alexandria,
> Loaden with spice and silks, now under sail,
> [Is] smoothly gliding down by Candy shore
> To Malta.[86]

Selim Calymath is a dignified, reasonable, and civilized presence, though this does not save him from the treachery of Barabas or that of Fernese, the Christian governor. Selim's initial speeches seem dialogically mindful of anti-Ottoman stereotypes, as he rebukes a basha's impatient response to the Knights' request for time to raise the tribute they owe:

> What, Callipine! a little courtesy.
> Let's know their time, perhaps it is not long:
> And 'tis more kingly to obtain by peace
> Than to enforce conditions by constraint. (1.2, p. 206)

In this play such courtesy might be feigned or ironic, but Selim's deeds are consistent with his words. He does grant the knights time to raise the tribute money, and he keeps his later promises (to subdue the knights if they break the league and to make Barabas governor of the island if he assists the Turks). In this regard he is unique in the play, and other critics have noted his his personal dignity and lack of deceit.[87] After the Christians rebel and the Turks subdue them, Selim is rational, not vindictive, in victory. Having "viewed the city, [and] seen the sack," he causes "the ruins to be new-repaired" (5.4, p. 261). In doing so he exhibits the wise postconquest policy the sultans typically followed.[88] Finally, when he is imprisoned by Ferneze (who double-crosses Barabas after helping him to destroy Selim's men), Selim offers to go to Turkey "in person there to mediate your peace," but his offer is denied ("here thou must stay,/And live in Malta a prisoner" (5.6, p. 266).

The other Turkish character in *The Jew of Malta*, Ithamore, Barabas's slave, is a vicious and unrepentant Machiavel like his master. It might be argued that by way of Ithamore, Marlowe "splits" the Turk into two aspects—the noble Calymath and the corrupt slave, Barabas's "second self" (3.4, p. 235). However, Ithamore's "Turkish" identity is far less clear than that of Selim Calymath, the official representative of the empire. Ithamore is an example of the "hybridity" typical of the eastern Mediterranean in those times. Though he is among the "Turks" (2.2, p. 218) who have been taken prisoner by the vice-Admiral of Spain, and who are to be sold in the slave market in Malta, he identifies himself as "born in Thrace" (on the European side of the Bosphorus) and raised "in Arabia" (2.3, p. 223). These details suggest that he might have been born a Christian and brought east as part of the *devsirme*, or tribute of children, in which case he is an involuntary Muslim or a renegade Christian, rather than a "natural" or ethnic Turk. In any case, Ithamore's vileness in no way taints the figure of the Selim Calymath in this play, nor is one pitted against the other as "good Turk/ bad Turk"

in the eyes of the Christians. Rather, class and experiential differences seem paramount. Overall, Simon Shepherd's judgment on *The Jew of Malta* seems just, namely, that Marlowe highlights mercantile and economic motives as the source of evil and opposes any " 'natural' explanation of human conduct based on presumed racial characteristics or religion" or, one might add, nationality.[89]

Fittingly, the last extant play before 1603 that depicts a sultan, Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (1600), features Bayazid himself. The play resembles a folktale version of *Dr. Faustus.* Endowed by Fortune with an endlessly replenished purse of gold and a "wishing hat" that can magically transport the wearer, Fortunatus and his greedy son, Andelocia, spurn the allegorical character Vertue and abjure good deeds. Inevitably, Fortune cuts them down at the height of their glory, and even the virtuous son, Ampedo, whose warnings they ignored, is destroyed by their folly. The eastern elements of the play are pronounced. It is set in Cyprus; Fortunatus says he has visited the Turkish Sultan "Soliman" (2.1.10); and several scenes take place in the court of the "Soldan of Babylon." There are also references to exotic goods (spices and ostrich feathers) and to India, Arabia, and Asia; the magic apples of Vertue and Vice are hawked in the streets as "tamasco [Damascus] peepins" (4.1.29–30).[90] The play is pure fairly tale in its treatment of history, however. King Athelstane of England and Suleyman are imagined to reign simultaneously, whereas in fact Suleyman's reign coincided with those of the Tudors.

The sultan, bearing the broken symbols of his sovereignty, appears in the first scene as one of the four captive kings of the goddess Fortune. His companions in misery are "the German Emperour, Henry the fifth," "Frederick Barbarossa, Emperour of Almaine once," and "Lewes the Meek" of France[91] (1.1.175–84). The echoes of *Tamburlaine* in the scene are quite striking, with the goddess taking the role of Tamburlaine and gloating over her victims:

> *Enter a Carter, a Tailor, a Monk, a Shepherd, all crown'd, a Nymph with a Globe, another with Fortune's wheel, then Fortune: After her four Kings with broken Crowns and Scepters, chained in silver Gyves and led by her. . . . Fortune takes her Chair, the Kings lying at her feet, she treading on them as she goes up.* (1.1.63, SD)

Fortune thus reprises Tamburlaine's humiliation of the sultan, treading upon him (and the other kings) as she mounts her throne. The kings (in chorus and individually) curse the goddess for abasing them and advancing the unworthy (the carter, the tailor, and the Catholic

monk).[92] In return, she mocks them, again echoing Tamburlaine: "Curse on: on our celestial brows do sit /Unnumbered smiles, which then leap from their throne,/When they see peasants dance and monarchs groan" (1.1.96–98).[93] Bayazid alone is pitied, not vilified, by Fortune; indeed, he is the only one to whom she speaks individually:

> Here stands the very soul of misery
> Poor Baiazet, old Turkish Emperour,
> And once the greatest Monarch in the East;
> Fortune herself is sad to view thy fall,
> And grieves to see thee glad to lick up crumbs
> At the proud feet of that great Scythian swain,
> Fortune's best minion, warlike Tamburlaine:
> Yet must thou in a cage of Iron be drawn
> In triumph at his heels, and there in grief
> Bash out thy brains. (1.1.186–95)

Fortune's pity could be read as insincere (rubbing salt in the sultan's wound) or as working against Bayazid: if an evil goddess pities him, he must also be evil. But most critics have viewed it otherwise. Chew writes that Dekker "stands . . . alone" in recognizing "the pathos of [Bayazid's] hapless situation,"[94] but, as we have seen, many writers before and after Dekker viewed the sultan with sympathy, whatever they thought of his earlier actions. In addition, by including Bayazid in this group of European rulers (which encompassed some of the greatest and the most virtuous Frederick Barbarossa and Louis the Pious, respectively), the passage is another example of the degree to which the Ottoman Sultans were assimilated into Europe's sense of the civilized world and its history. Thus, the play, like the anecdotal collections discussed earlier, integrates Bayazid into a royal gallery, not as an exception or an outsider, but as a fellow victim of Fortune.

That Dekker's view of Bayazid is not anomalous is also suggested by some of the allusions to *Tamburlaine* collected by Tucker Brooke and discussed by Richard Levin.[95] Most of them, like Greene who refers to "that Atheist *Tamburlan*," focus on the play's "mightie" hero and take a critical attitude to those who "gaped" at him,[96] but those that refer to Bayazid stress not his rage, his bombast, or his pride, but his sufferings. Donne in "The Calme" identifies with those who "languish" as does his becalmed ship:

> Like *Bajazet* encag'd, the shepherd's scoff,
> Or like slack sinew'd *Sampson*, his hair off,
> Languish our ships. (ll. 34–36)

Donne pairs Bajazet with the proto-Christian hero Sampson, and he stresses the social distance between the sultan and his jailer ("the shepherd"). The words of John Davies in his *Microcosmus* (1603) seem also to identify with the sultan: "As when the might'st *Baiazeth* is come/ Into the claws of some rude *Tamburlaine*."[97] Like Dekker, the authors of these allusions pity the sultan's sufferings and challenge the assumption that the historical Bayazid and Marlowe's Bajazeth were inevitably seen as deserving their fates.

## Conclusion

Marlowe was apparently the first English playwright to represent a historically recognizable Turkish Sultan on the public stage. Compared to the sources and the dramatic sultans that followed him, Marlowe's Bajazeth is in many ways unique. Contrary to the histories, which highlight his "lightning" conquests, the chief battle he fights is a defensive one. He is also the first Turkish Sultan to enact something like the rage of Hercules in extended dialogue. Although he is depicted as besieging (Christian) Constantinople and he indulges in bloody rhetoric, he is guilty of no treachery in the play, no brother's murder, no illicit lust, or other crime. He is devoted to his wife and she to him, even unto death—a quality that figures significantly in many eastern accounts of his life, as will appear in the following chapter. He personifies the military might and confidence of the Turks, but not the negative personal qualities attributed to the sultans in some of the sources and in later academic plays, such as *The Raging Turke* (ca. 1618). Of the attributes of the "stage Turk" listed by Joseph Q. Adams ("ambition, cruelty, sensuality, and treachery"), he exhibits only ambition, which in this play, one might argue, is required of any character worth his salt.

Marlowe's portrayal of Bayazid (and of Tamburlaine, especially in *Part 1*) departs from the conventional view and, because he was writing a drama, he did so without the interpreting, containing effects of a dominant narrative voice. The consequences of this aspect of the genre are several. The audience was (and is) left largely to its own devices to sympathize or to judge by their own lights. Though less psychologically nuanced than the dialogue between Hamlet and his interlocutors or between Iago and Othello, the speeches in the play do not simply "follow" one another. Bajazeth and Tamburlaine are highly sensitive to each others' tropes and terms of address. To gain advantage in the war of words, they participate in competitive hyperbole and mock each others' titles. Dialogue, as Bakhtin points out, is

not limited to disagreement or agreement; it is in the act of consciously engaging with another's speech and world view. Both characters also speak soliloquies in which they share their thoughts (Bakhtin's "inner speech") with the audience (e.g., Tamburlaine's meditation on beauty and Bayazid's soliloquy just before his death, both in 5.2). Since Christian characters are either absent or marginalized (dramatically and morally), a spectator or reader can identify only with non-Christian characters. The potential subversiveness of the play in this respect seems to have been clear to Marlowe and to his audience, as sixteenth-century references to "that Atheist *Tamburlan*" attest. As Levin's and Berek's researches show, the play as a whole sparked a lively and prolonged dialogue with audiences and Marlowe's fellow poets, who alluded to it, satirized it, and imitated its mighty line. While commentators have credited Marlowe with (or more recently faulted him for) creating the dramatic types of "the raging Turk" or "the cruel Tartar," his real accomplishment was to free these characters from the containing narratives and moralizing glosses of Christian humanist history. When the sultans and Timūr spoke in the narratives that introduced them to Christendom, they sometimes spoke wisely, but in Marlowe's play they speak "for themselves" in ways that challenge both conventional pieties about the prince and anti-Ottoman stereotypes.

In 1603, Richard Knolles circulated an unflattering account of Bayazid that became the standard version of the story for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English readers. Ironically, Knolles created this negative portrait by drawing not upon Marlowe or western writers but upon details unique to eastern (and even Turkish) histories. By contrast, Marlowe, who appears not to have known the eastern histories published before 1587 and presumably could not have known the Turkish annals published in Frankfort in 1588, imaginatively captured the spirit of their construction of the sultan. The next two chapters trace the transmission of the eastern sources and their paradoxical assimilation in Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes.*

# Chapter 4

# "History written by the enemy": Eastern Sources about the Ottomans

In recent years, Virginia Mason Vaughan, Jonathan Burton, and Nabil Matar have lamented the "one sidedness" of the evidence regarding east-west exchange in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] Most of the available works, they point out, reveal only the western European experience, and some speculate that, owing to a lack of interest, the eastern half of the archive may be slight.[2] But this hypothesis is now under scrutiny; Matar's own translations, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (2003), challenge it, as does recent work on liminal figures such as Leo Africanus.[3] Until additional works are identified and translated, however, the linguistic barriers to investigating both sides of the archive are forbidding. Few Anglophone scholars read Arabic or Turkish, and, since the adoption of the Roman alphabet in 1923, even Turkish scholars need special training to read the Arabic script in which Ottoman works were written.

While these concerns are justified, western scholars appear to have overlooked influential Greek, Arabic, and Turkish histories that circulated in Latin and vernacular translations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The texts I have in mind are not primarily concerned with eastern views of the west; rather, they provide eastern perspectives on Timūr and the Ottoman Empire, topics of great interest in western Europe. Most of them were translated too late to influence Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, but they put other writers and educated readers, for

whom Latin was a medium of intellectual exchange, in touch with their Muslim and Greek Orthodox counterparts.[4] The texts are rich in circumstantial detail and dialogue, and they differ among themselves: the two Arabic accounts take opposite views of Timūr. They also complicate monolithic conceptions that often dominate modern analyses of east-west encounters, reminding us that the east was Christian as well as Muslim and that Europe was Orthodox and Muslim as well as Catholic and Protestant.

The most important eastern texts and the dates of their early modern translations include the following:

- *ΛΑΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΟΚΟΝΔΥΛΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣΙΣΤΟΡΙΟΝ ΔΕΚΑ* Laonikos Chalkokondyles of Athens's demonstrations of histories] ca. 1470–1490. A near contemporary's account of the fall of the Byzantine state and the rise of the Turks. Latin, 1556. French, 1577, and later editions.
- Sadeddin Mehmed ibn Hasanjan, *Tac üt Tevarih* or *Tadj et-Tevarih* [The crown of histories]. Commissioned by Murad III (reigned 1574–1595). Latin, 1588. Partial English trans., 1652. French, 1662.
- Ahmad ibn Muhammed ibn Arabshah, *Kitab ʿajayib al-maqdur fi akhbar Taymur*, or *Timūr-Nahmeh*, before 1450. A life of Timūr (Tamburlaine). Arabic with a Latin preface, 1636. French, 1658.

To these might be added Jean du Bec's *Histoire du gran Tamerlanes . . . Tirée des monumens antiques des Arabes* [History of the great emperor Tamerlane . . . Drawn from the Ancient Records of the Arabs] (1595, English, 1597). While the authenticity of his "Arabic" source has been questioned, du Bec was the first to circulate certain details about Bayazid and Timūr preserved in the eastern accounts. Una Ellis-Fermor appears to be the last Anglophone literary scholar to consult the Greek and Latin sources directly. Though her bibliography is helpful in tracing their transmission, her comments on specific texts are restricted to their portrayal of Tamburlaine and preoccupied with the now-suspect notion of "Oriental character."[5]

Westerners unskilled in Greek or Oriental languages necessarily received these sources in Latin or vernacular translations.[6] An ideal analysis of their transmission would require a well-subsidized team of scholars skilled in Byzantine Greek, Renaissance Latin, classical Arabic, and Ottoman Turkish (as well as English, French, Italian, and German) who could translate the eastern manuscripts and compare them, word for word, with the translations. Ottoman documents alone

require competence in Arabic and Persian and knowledge of six different calligraphic scripts. Such a team is unlikely to be assembled any time soon, and, even if it were, some intermediate texts—such as the work of a Turkish interpreter to whose German translation of Sadeddin the Latin edition is apparently indebted—are not extant.[7] In addition, if we wish to know what formed early modern readers' notions of Byzantine and Turkish histories, it is the translations not the originals that matter: they suggest how early modern Christians "read" the originals. In their prefaces, notes, and commentary, the translators tell us in their own words how they received them. Their explicit statements and their textual practices (insofar as the latter can be determined) offer the best available evidence of how these texts influenced western accounts of the Ottomans, and I offer the conclusions below in the hope that they may spur others more expert than I in eastern languages to expand and improve upon them.

On the whole, the initial (Latin) translators tried to preserve the voice and perspective of another side of the story. They privileged eastern sources over the accounts of western "historiographers" and took pains to separate such commentary as they were moved to supply from the narrative proper. Later, as these sources were translated into vernacular languages, the translators continued to praise and disseminate their authors, but, on sensitive issues, their textual apparatus (chapter headings and marginalia) became more intrusive and more judgmental. Consequently, a western Christian perspective competed more vigorously with the Muslim or Orthodox perspective of the narratives proper, and the translations reveal the tensions of cross-cultural intertextuality. In addition, the eastern sources are richer in dialogue and set speeches than the continental histories discussed in chapter 3. They illustrate the sultans' martial eloquence and their wisdom or folly in dealing with subordinates. They contain many diplomatic exchanges in which antagonists threaten, cajole, and challenge each other, creating a vivid record of personalities and viewpoints. The translators acknowledge the potency of such dialogue. It may offend as well as inform a Christian reader. Sometimes they analyze specific quotations to evaluate conflicting accounts. Most interesting, the eastern histories all contain examples of the Muslim concept of *hilm* mentioned in chapter 1, which the translators interpret in different ways.

As described by Zouhair Ghazzal, *hilm* is the "forbearance" that Islamic law came to require of a powerful leader. Initially, a Muslim leader was expected to imitate the anger of Mohammad on behalf of Allah, but in late medieval Muslim thought, since the sultan's power was theoretically unlimited by any human institution, he was expected

to use it with restraint. At the same time, *hilm* allowed—even called for—a leader to dominate an adversary through speech. It endorsed a kind of verbal combat in which the parties "without showing any of [their own] anger," provoked or insulted each other, all the while pretending that "nothing was happening."[8] This aspect of *hilm* has a parallel in the medieval genres of debate and "flyting," in which human and animal interlocutors compete rhetorically, and it finds a modern analogue, I would argue, in the witty exchange of insults by hip-hop performers or rappers "doing the dozens." In the conduct of such a dialogue, a trap might be set so as to hoist one's antagonist with his own petard, to induce him to condemn himself from his own mouth.

## The Sources and the Translators

Laonikos Chalkokondyles provides an educated Byzantine Christian's perspective on the rise of the Turks and on the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Though the entire work has never been published in English, Nicoloas Nicoloudis recently translated the first three books, which cover the rise of the Ottomans and the story of Timūr.[9] The Greek title, which, may be translated "Laonikos Chalkokondyles of Athens's Demonstrations of Histories," suggests Chalkokondyles's philosophical approach to his topic.

Born to a prominent Athenian family and classically educated in Mistra (Sparta), Chalkokondyles highlighted his "Hellenic" (as opposed to Roman or Rumi) heritage. Aware of the revival of Greek learning in western Europe, he believed (rightly, as it turned out) that this heritage would survive the destruction of the Byzantine state. Modeling his work on Herodotus and Thucydides, he resembles Italian humanists such as Machiavelli and Perondinus. As J. Chrysostomides concludes, he was "fascinated by the factor of power, its growth, expansion, and decline taking place with a cosmic framework not governed by a deity but where *tyche* and *arte*, fortune and political virtue, . . . concept[s] comparable to the Machiavellian *fortuna* and *virtù*, reign supreme."[10] Though vigorously identifying himself as a "Hellene," Chalkokondyles is not particularly hostile to the Ottomans or to Islam. As Chrysostomides notes, he "spares none of the protagonists and criticizes where he thinks criticism is justified."[11] He relied heavily on Turkish sources, particularly regarding Bayazid and Timūr.[12] In the judgment of Nicoloudis, the portraits of the Byzantine emperors are "fragmented and sketchy" compared to the "vivid" descriptions of the actions and "personalities" of the Ottoman Sultans.[13] The loss of Constantinople is unequivocally attributed to the incompetence and

corruption of the Byzantine rulers. Where Islam is concerned, Chalkokondyles does not try to refute its principles. Rather, "he looks at it in an impassionate way and describes it as a cultural phenomenon," exhibiting "a religious and ethnic broadmindedness" remarkable for "the time and place in which he lived."[14]

Chalkokondyles's account became widely available in the Latin translation of Conrad Clauser (Basle, 1556, and five later editions),[15] and a French translation directly from the Greek by Blaise de Vigenère appeared in 1577.[16] Clauser was a Protestant cleric and also served as a schoolmaster in Bruges. According to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, he never traveled to the Levant. Later authorities criticized his translations as rather free, and they were apparently self-motivated.[17] His preface highlights the similarity between the divided and demoralized Byzantine state and his own. With the Turks everthreatening, and with the lack of "respect for civil justice" and the dissolution of military discipline ("*dissolute militaris disciplina*" sig. $\alpha$3r) at home, how can Germany defend itself? Clauser's translation made Chalkokondyles's critique of the Byzantines and his tacit admiration of the Turks widely available. Augustino Curio in *Historia saracenae* (1567) explains that, by design, he leaves off his narrative where Chalkokondyles begins,[18] and Lewenklaw frequently defers to "Laonicus" in the *Pandectes* or endnotes to the *Annales.* Chalkokondyles was also cited by English writers, including John Foxe and George Sandys, and he appears prominently in Knolles' discussion of his authorities.[19]

The Turkish source that first appeared in western Europe was based on the works of Sadeddin Mehmed ibn Hasanjan (1536–1599). Sadeddin served as tutor (*hojah* or *hoça* in Turkish) to Murad III before he became sultan, and he is therefore also called *Hojah Effendi* (My Lord Tutor).[20] His five-volume history of the Ottomans to 1550, *Tac üt Tevarih* or *Tadj et-Tevarih* (The crown of histories) was the main source for the *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum* published in Frankfort in 1588 by Johan Lewenklaw (Joannes Leunclavius).[21] Lewenklaw apparently drew on other Turkish sources as well.[22] Further editions followed in 1593 and 1596, and his work is cited and praised by the French editors of Chalkokondyles and by Knolles. An Italian translation of "Saidino" (Sadeddin) was published in 1649,[23] and François Eudes de Mézeray's French edition was published along with Chalkokondyles and several other texts in 1662.[24]

Lewenklaw (or Löwenklau, 1533?–1593), a native of Westphalia and apparently a Catholic, spent time in the court of Turin, traveled through Europe and the Levant, and lived for a time in

Constantinople.[25] He specialized in translating and editing eastern texts, working either directly from Greek into Latin or from Turkish or Arabic originals, and his work earned respect well into the nineteenth century.[26] His more than forty works include translations of Arabic texts on dreams (including one by Abu Ma'shar, on whom the astrologer-hero of a 1615 English comedy was based).[27] He also translated Byzantine histories, works on Roman and Byzantine law, and the works of Xenophon and St. Gregory of Nyssa.[28] In 1591, Lewenklaw published a second history of the Turks "drawn from their own monuments."[29] As he writes in his *Supplement*, he aspired to provide a "complete history of Constantinople so that those things done by the Roman, Greek, and German Emperors, as well as those done by the Muslim Sultans from the foundation of the city might be read collected in continuous succession."[30] His desire parallels the evidence discussed in chapter 3 that the sultans were seen as part of "European history," not as deracinated aliens.

In addition to Greek and Turkish works, Arabic (and allegedly Arabic) sources were also translated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Ahmad ibn Muhammed ibn Arabshah's life of Timūr *Timūr-Nahmeh* (before 1450) was published in Arabic with a Latin preface by Jacob Golius (*Kitab ajaib al-maqdur fi akhbar Taymur talif Ahmad ibn Arabshah = Ahmedis Arabsiadae vitae et rerum gestarum Timurī, qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur, Historia* [Ahmad Arabshah's history of the life and warlike deeds of Timūr, commonly called Tamerlane], Leiden, 1636). It was translated into French by Pierre Vattier some twenty years later (1658). Golius (1596–1667), the only academic among the early translators, was professor of Oriental languages and mathematics at the Protestant University of Leiden. He learned Arabic in Morocco and in the Levant while traveling with Dutch delegations.[31] He translated the New Testament into Modern Greek and some reformed liturgical texts into Arabic, but his major contributions were Persian-Latin and Arabic-Latin dictionaries.

Born in 1392, Arabshah was among those taken to Samarkand by Timūr after he destroyed Damascus. He later became confidential secretary to the son of Bayazid I (Mehmed I, reigned 1413–1421) in Hadrianople. He eventually settled in Cairo, where he died after a "fruitful literary career."[32] Written in "rhymed prose,"[33] his work presents the story of Timūr and Bayazid I from the vantage point of an Arab Muslim hostile to Timūr and sympathetic toward (but not uncritical of) the Turkish sultan. The flavor of his account is suggested by his comment on the lord of Timūr's home village: "The birthplace

of this deceiver was a village of a lord named Ilgar in the territory of Kesh—may Allah remove him from Paradise."[34] Like the other eastern sources discussed above, Arabshah's history contains several conversations between Timūr and Bayazid not found in Italian or other continental works.

The influence of Arabshah in early modern England is probably slight. Only the preface of the 1638 edition was in Latin, and no English edition appeared before that of J.H. Sanders in 1936. Vattier's French edition was available after 1658 but could not have influenced Knolles, who died in 1610, or any of his redactors up to the Restoration. However, Arabshah indirectly supports the authenticity of Jean du Bec's *Histoire du grand Empereur Tamerlanes* (Paris, 1595), which was translated into English in 1597 by "H.M." (*The Historie of the Great Emperour Tamerlan . . . Drawen from the auncient monuments of the Arabians*).[35] Du Bec claims to present the work of a historian named "Alhacen" as "interpreted" to him by "an Arabian who did speak Frank," a ployglot Italian "very common in Constantinople" (2). After long (and apparently little rewarded) service to his country, du Bec elected to publish this source, he explains, to "keep [himself] from writing anything of these times": to write honestly of his own experience, he asserts, would engender "hatred" in those who desired to be flattered, and to do otherwise would set a bad example for ages to come (3). His view that editing an Arabic text was more prudent than writing about his own time suggests a skeptical view of the historical enterprise, but he brings little skepticism to his chosen text. According to Ellis-Fermor, du Bec's "Arabic" source is suspect,[36] but it nonetheless includes conversations between Bayazid and Timūr unknown to the Italian historians but preserved in the sources listed above and in the *Seyâhatnâme* (*Book of Travels*, ca.1640–1670) of the Turkish writer Evilya Çelebi.[37] Genuinely Arabic or not, this source had access to eastern traditions that H.M. was the first to introduce to English readers.

## Privileging the eastern Sources: Uncomfortable Truths

Like their modern counterparts, these early modern scholars valued the closeness of their authors to the events they described. They were not the first to do this, of course. Pedro Mexía (as translated by Fortescue) and the Armenian monk Frère Haytoun (*Les Fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient*, ca. 1501) both cite Pope Pius II for anecdotes about Timūr's career because Pius lived only "eight or ten years after

him,"[38] or as the translator of Haytoun puts it, "*bien pres de ce temps la*" ("quite close to that time").[39] The translators of the eastern sources, however, emphasized the proximity of their authors in space and culture, as well as time. Rather than citing a firsthand source for this or that detail, they stressed the authority of the whole of their source texts and often used them to correct western writers' versions of the same events. They included the Muslim perspective on events (even when it clashed with their own). They exhorted their readers and leaders to learn from their eastern counterparts, and they often seem swayed by their sources to frame a more nuanced view of the east.

Clauser describes the decay of Byzantine civil and military institutions and tells his readers that Chalkokondyles "puts all this vividly before our eyes *[omnia graphice ad oculos nobis ponit]*"; if you care about your happiness and safety, he writes, "perk up your ears and learn from . . . Chalkokondyles" ("*arrige aures, et ex . . . Chalcocondile disce*," sig. [$\alpha$ 10v]). De Vigenère asserts that Chalkokondyles treated his subject "more clearly than any other" ("*c'est autheur cy a mieux exclarcy que nul autre*," sig. [Fiii$^v$]). In what may be a slap at early descriptive writing about the Turks, such as Geuffroy's, he lauds Chalkokondyles's work as a real history, rather than a "frivolous and useless discourse" of the "pomp and magnificence" of the sultan's court (sig. [Eiv$^v$]).[40] Lewenklaw often cites Chalkokondyles when weighing conflicting accounts of a particular event: "But in truth, as it is read in Laonicus" ("*At vero quum apud Laonicum leg[i]tur,*" 264 n. 52). Thomas Artus, editor of the French edition of 1612, also highlights Chalkokondyles's reliability: since he was "of that time, a native and inhabitant of Greece . . . he could be faithfully informed of all that happened."[41]

Lewenklaw's title pages stress the authenticity of his sources. They contain the phrases "*a Turcis sua lingua scripti*" ("written by the Turks in their language," *Annales*) and "*de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae*" ("written or copied from their own records or memorials," *Historiae Musulmanae*). The title page of the latter work also calls attention to "two commentaries . . . in which the authenticity of the account is corroborated from their own people's documents and from death notices." In the same spirit, Lewenklaw draws a clear distinction between his source and his contributions to the volume. The sections of the *Annales* are divided with an emphatic statement: "At this point the annals set forth by the Turks end in the year of Christ 1550" ("*Hactenus expositi a Turcis annales desinunt in annum Christianum M.D.L,*" 95). De Mézeray's 1662 edition does likewise: "Here end the Annals of the Turks, written in their language" ("*Icy finissent les Annales des Turcs, escrites en leur langue*," 45). Lewenklaw's dedicatory

letter in the *Historiae* similarly emphasizes that he relies on the "the history . . . written by the enemy" ("*historia . . . ab hoste scripta*," 11), and later he refers to the "eyewitness testimony" ("*teste occulatos*," 804) of his informants.[42]

Du Bec states that "Alhacen" lived "in the time of this Prince [Timūr], [and was] a companion and familiar of his conquests" (1). Du Bec's English translator takes a slightly different position. He views the work's having been being written long ago in an alien language as a kind of guarantee of its truth. It is "not devised [made up], according to the vanities of former ages, but being as it were buried in a strange and unknown language is revived from that obscurity by his [du Bec's] travails and presented unto the Reader in his own tongue through my pains" (sig. A2r–[A2v]). Golius's preface stresses that one should study a language to learn "new things" as well as "new words" ("*verba . . . quoque . . . nove cognitione rerum*," sig. [*3v]). He lauds Arabshah's direct knowledge of events as well as his learning: "our author . . . himself saw many things and learned from illustrious men many more" (sig. *3r). The Arabs, having been victimized by Timūr, "faithfully committed [their experience] to memory" (sig. [*3v]–*3r); consequently, histories such as Arabshah's are full of facts "strange and unknown to us" and "penetrate the innermost sanctum of matters Oriental, augmenting learning" (sig. [*2v]). As Nicoloudis's commentary on Chalkokondyles shows, contemporary accounts are not always correct,[43] and modern historians might argue that no serious "history" can be written until well after the dust has settled. But, as all the translators recognized, a fifteenth-century eastern author speaks about the great events of his day with an authority unavailable to sixteenth-century Italian chroniclers, distant in space, time, and culture, and he provides unassailable evidence of how at least one Byzantine Christian or Turk or Arab perceived them.

In addition to relying on their authors' proximity to events, the translators praise other aspects of their work. De Vigenère is somewhat critical of Chalkokondyles's digressions, which he contrasts with the stricter narratives of the ancients (sig. [Fi$^{v}$]). Nonetheless, he defends this work of "a latter-day Greek" (sig. [Eii$^{v}$]) and asserts that those who read it attentively will find it full of "pith and sap and important advice and counsel in affairs of state" ("*plein de moelle et de suc, d'avis et conseils d'importance en affaires d'estat*," sig. Fi$^{r}$). Artus highlights the "form" and reputation of Chalkokondyles's history. He desires to preserve its integrity, not merely to extract from it discrete pieces of information for his own history. Artus claims to present his text "without adding or subtracting to it," asserting that he "would have done wrong

to the reputation of so excellent a personage to undertake the narration of the whole history as if to bury his in a tomb."[44] Du Bec likewise praises his source as "a great and worthy person, learned as well in natural philosophy as in astrology" (1). He testifies to the "eloquence" of his author and explains that he "could . . . gather but only the truth [literal meaning] thereof, and not the drifts and gravity of the declaration, wherein the author had collected it for posterity" (2). Golius recommends the style of Arabshah in similar terms: he exhibits "a care for composition" and "brilliantly expresses the genius of the language *[genium idiomatis]*" (sig. [*3v]). Golius adheres entirely to eastern conventions: even the Latin preface reads from back to front, beginning on sig. [*3v] and ending on sig.*2r. Like Artus, he claims to present his text "in its entirety, exactly as he found it" (sig.*2r). He makes no effort to remove "the error and superstition of a people seduced" by the false Prophet Mohammed: "I consider it on no account to be my business to prune the vineyards of others *[aliena vineta caedere]* or to purify them according to my judgment."(sig. [*2v]–*2r). While he by no means endorses the "errors" of Islam, he presents the viewpoint of his source intact. His notes and commentary were to be published in a separate volume, but I have found no evidence that it was published.[45]

The early translators' prefaces differ from the "Orientalist expertise" discussed by Edward Said. To be sure, by praising their authors, they enhance their own reputations as the disseminators of new and important sources. However, they do not tout the completeness of their own understanding and the ultimate "knowability of the Orient," as Said claims later Orientalists did. They defer to the authority, learning, and stylistic sophistication of their sources, and they stress the partial nature of their own efforts and understanding (even while displaying what they have learned). In these works, the source takes center stage, and the translators speak from the wings—from the margins and the back of the book. Golius also translated the New Testament into Modern Greek and the so-called Heidelberg Catechism into Arabic. If he or his patrons harbored missionary ambitions, they exemplify academic expertise being harnessed to a larger ideological agenda, an essential dynamic of Said's Orientalism. However, at least for Golius, the exchange was to be two-way: if Muslim or Orthodox believers were to be introduced to Reformed religious texts, Britons should learn Arabic and read eastern texts, such as Arabshah's history of Timūr.

In addition to praising their sources, the translators assert their own commitment to truth, even when it is painful. To commit to a goal is not necessarily to achieve it, but their arguments strike one as sophisticated and sincere. Lewenklaw writes, "Indeed, we have been

truly diligent about truth, because if history should lack it, it must perish as if it lacked a soul" (183). Consequently, he asserts, he does not "fear the opinion of a noble, fair, and intelligent reader. As for the rest, blinded as they are by the disease of depravity and wickedness or ignorance, we think they are all worth one *mangurus* [a paltry coin?]" (183). In his *Advertissement* or preface to the reader, Artus notes that historians are typically blinded by the interests of their own factions and likewise asserts that his only allegiance is to the side of "truth." As Knolles was to do, he takes Lewenklaw as the model to be imitated:

> I am determined . . . to make to the public the most faithful report that I can, such as it seems to me that Leunclavius, more than any of the moderns, has followed in his *Annales*: so I will rely more upon him than on any other.[46]

Of course, historians and translators can never present the definitive "truth." What is noteworthy is that, even as they acknowledge the role that "affections" (national/cultural biases) play in the writing of history, they insist on the truthfulness of their eastern sources. Further, they sometimes imply that the proof of the truth they offer lies in its divergence from received accounts, in the resistance it may elicit in a western reader, whose affections it may offend.

For example, du Bec challenges the opinion of western historians that Timūr's history was unwritten in his own time.[47] To the contrary, du Bec asserts:

> his history is very famous amongst the Turks and Arabians, his conquests very largely discoursed, and many of his worthy and notable sayings collected, with an infinite number of his noble deeds . . . , having been no less accompanied with such good hap than was Achilles. (1)

Du Bec also relies on his author for "inside" cultural knowledge. Western "historiographers," he writes, have described Timūr as the son of a shepherd:

> but this they have said, not knowing at all the custom of their [the Tartars'] country, where the principal revenue of the kings and nobles consisteth in cattle, despising gold and silver, . . . wherefore some call them shepherds and say also that this Prince descended from them. (4–5)

Du Bec prefers his author to western accounts in the matter of Timūr's alleged use of colored tents (white, red, and black) to signal the fate of a besieged town: "but I find not this in our author, and I believe them to be fables" (2–3).[48]

Artus, in particular, observes that any history tends to be influenced by its writer's loyalties and that the "very actions that are most worthy of note are often those which are reported . . . with the greatest embarrassment":

> the Turks, never forgetting to praise their own worth and scorning the Christians, exalt their victories out of vanity; while on the other side, the Christians blame and diminish their [the Turks'] actions as much as they can, out of the resentment that they feel for their defeats.[49]

A similar sentiment is expressed by English historian John Selden some decades later regarding the exaggerated images on English inn signs: "When our countrymen came home from fighting against the Saracens and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces (as you still see the sign of the Saracen's Head is), when in truth they were like other men; but this they [the English] did to save their own credits."[50]

Possibly influenced by Chalkokondyles' dispassionate account, Artus challenges the prejudices of his own day. In his preface he imagines that the reader might ask why he, a Christian, "amuses himself in writing about the deeds of a barbarian" (sig. é1r). In context, his use of "barbarian" is a fine example of Bakhtin's "double-voiced word," of using invisible quotation marks to dispute a term's accuracy. For, he responds, "the Turks are more barbarous in their laws than in their conduct and government," as can be seen in their immense and sophisticated campaigns against Persia and Hungary, in which thousands of soldiers are efficiently paid and provisioned (sig. é1r). In his *Advertissement*, Artus questions this epithet even more thoroughly:

> Even though we think the Turks a barbarous people, uncivil and without spirit, soul, or wit, they nonetheless have marvelous experience in the art of war, great leadership and prudence in their armies, and incomparable . . . obedience to their sovereign and to his commanders, a notable carefulness and great order in the management of their affairs, and a severe justice in domestic matters and trade. One might remark that the principal column that sustains the great weight of the Empire is the punishment of those who have badly performed their duties and the reward of those who have done some good deed, and this down to the smallest act.[51]

Although the virtues Artus ascribes to the Ottomans were, as we have seen, widely recognized, his assessment is unusually comprehensive and emphatic.

Lewenklaw, on more than one occasion, privileges Sadeddin over western histories. Regarding Murad II's siege of Belgrade, he offers the following note:

> I should not turn a blind eye to the fact there is no mention that Belgrade was besieged by Murad shortly before [his] death, neither by Marin Barleti . . . , nor by Bonfini, nor by Geuffroy, but rather the siege of Croia was discussed by them, when Cotziacus or Getia had been captured already . . . [But] Murad first besieged it twice, as I now say: and when he was unable to gain control of it in the second attack, he fell into lethal sickness on account of his indignation and took his last raging breath. (324 n. 126)[52]

Since the episode emphasizes Murad's mortal "rage" and his lack of success at Belgrade, Lewenklaw's adherence to the Turkish chronicles in this case may suit rather than discomfit western sensibilities. Nonetheless, it endorses Sadeddin's accuracy over more familiar western accounts.

More challenging to a western reader is the reasoning with which Lewenklaw defends Sadeddin's account of the intermingled (although unstable) relations between the Byzantines and the Ottomans at the time of Bayazid I. The annals mention a peace treaty that allowed a certain quarter of Constantinople to be inhabited by Turks. In commenting on this passage, Lewenklaw conducts the following bit of detective work, and his conclusion relies heavily on the evidence of a direct quotation attributed to one of the principals:

> It can never be read in our histories [*Nusquam nostris in historibus legitur*] that Bayazid made peace with the Greek leaders who were besieged in Constantinople for either eight or ten years in all, much less that the [events] registered in the annals regarding the re-admittance of Turks into the city came about on account of peace. They [our histories] say rather that when the city was about to fall, unexpected aid had come with the advance of Timūr Chan of the Tartars . . . against Bayazid. Yet it is read in Laonicus [Chalkokondyles] that Andronicus rebelled against his father [the Greek Emperor]. . . , and that when his father . . . was exiled, he said these words among others to Manuel [his brother], co-heir of the kingdom: "I will have in the city a Turkish judge or prefect." . . . Why was he promising to have a Turkish judge, if there were no Turks who could have residence in the city, among whom that Cadi or judge could pronounce judgment in the issues that came about? (264 n.51)

Relying on the dialogue reported by Chalkokondyles, Lewenklaw indirectly challenges a major feature of the western view of Timūr,

namely, that his defeat of Bayazid saved the Byzantine Empire from falling to an implacable and utterly alien enemy. While it is true that the defeat of Bayazid gave the Greeks breathing room, relations between the emperors and the Ottomans were such that dynastic intrigue, on both sides, often made allies of factions in Constantinople and Hadrianople. The emperors' sons and Greek troops (sometimes voluntarily, sometimes under pressure) fought with the Ottomans against fractious Greek and Balkan powers, and early sultans, such as Mehmed I, sometimes sent their younger sons to the Byzantine court to ensure their safety from rivals at home.[53] By cross-referencing evidence in Sadeddin and Chalkokondyles, Lewenklaw perceives the complex relations between the Greeks of that day and the Turks, including cohabitation in Constantinople and the proposed presence of a Turkish magistrate to resolve disputes among Muslims.

In addition to preserving uncomfortable truths, the Latin editions preserve Muslim dates, titles, and place names unfamiliar to their prospective readers. Chalkokondyles is rather casual about dates and places, but Clauser rigorously follows his text: "In the relation of places, we have changed nothing, but recorded them with the exact words of the author himself" ("*nominibus quibus autor ipse enunciavimus*," sig. α11r). Where Chalkokondyles has *Mpelograda*, he will write *Mpelograda*, not the more familiar Belgrade *(Bellogradum)*(sig. α11r). The *Annales* are attentive to both dates and places, and Lewenklaw preserves both in their eastern forms. Thus, a battle takes place in "the year of the Hegira" or "the year of Mohamet 726 *[anno Mahumetano DCCXXVI]*," with the corresponding year in the Christian calendar in the margin, *"Anno Domini 1327"* (5). Although the nineteenth-century Ottoman scholar Joseph von Hammer asserts that Lewenklaw did not always preserve the place names of his original,[54] he frequently glosses Turkish place names in his endnotes: "*Romanie* in this case signifies the Asian provinces of the Greek emperors, in other places it means those in Europe" (203 n. 8). The issue does not arise with Golius, since he prints his text in the original Arabic. The Latin translations also adhere to eastern military and religious titles. Lewenklaw uses Turkish titles (such as *gazi* or chieftain) and proper names: he refers to *Gases Murates* (Gazi Murad, 13) rather than "Amurath," and *Urchan Gasis* (7) rather than "Orchanes." He also uses Turkish terms such as *rais* (sea captain), Latinized as *raisus* and explained in an endnote (464 n. 240).

Some of the vernacular disseminators maintain these practices and some do not. In 1577, de Vigenère makes no attempt to clarify the dates and places in Chalkokondyles' text. The printer of the 1662 edition of

Chalkokondyles explains that de Mézeray attempted to "unmuddy" the account by consulting the *Annales* (sig. e iv$^{r}$), but in unmuddying one eastern source, he relies on another. Du Bec uses Muslim dates and place names only occasionally. As for military titles, de Mézeray follows Lewenklaw, glossing the eastern terms in the margins or in brackets within the text.[55] Du Bec employs western titles, such as "Chancellor" (175), "the great Chamberlain" (170), and "Colonel General" (236), but he sometimes provides the eastern equivalent, referring to the "Emperor" of the Scythians "whom we [i.e., the Arabs] do call the great Cham" (201).

Both the Latin and vernacular editions of Sadeddin preserve the Ottoman refusal to give either Byzantine or Holy Roman rulers the title "emperor" (*imperator*), but they take different views of this practice. William Seaman mildly observes that, by the fifteenth century, the Byzantine territories were too small to merit the title "Empire," and therefore the Turks "would neither give [the Byzantine ruler] a greater nor equal him in title with their own princes."[56] Lewenklaw uses *Teggiur* or the Latin equivalent *princeps* and explains that Suleyman refers to Charles V as the "*Bey* of Spain" rather than "Emperor" because the sultan considers "himself by right of war the successor to Constantine the Great, who was Emperor of both the Orient and the Occident" (444 n. 225).[57] De Mézeray uses the term *Bey* or *Beg*, but in translating Lewenklaw's endnote, he adds an emotionally colored phrase *"par mesprise"* (scornfully) to describe the sultan's words: *"[Solyman appellait ainsi par mesprise Charles V]"* (41, original brackets).

Unlike the Latin editors, the vernacular translators provide marginalia and chapter headings, which (like those in most western histories of the day) emphasize moral qualities. De Vigenère's summary of chapter 12 begins "The avarice and overconfidence of Bajazet cause him to lose everything" (145). This is not a distortion of Chalkokondyles's account, which does view Bayazid's defeat in these terms, but no chapter heading emphasizes this theme in the original or the Latin edition. Regarding religion, too, de Vigenère is less objective than Chalkokondyles or Clauser. In a description of Muslim divorce customs, he cannot resist inserting an unbracketed condemnation: "This is a thoroughly bizarre and ridiculous *[bizarre et ridicule]* custom nonetheless practiced among them" (138). There is no such comment, bracketed or unbracketed, in Clauser (33) or Nicoloudis (237–39). Similarly, the restraint of Lewenklaw's 1588 edition of Sadeddin compares favorably with that of de Mézeray. Lewenklaw's commentary is separated from the text (in the *Pandectes*

or endnotes) and is objective in tone; de Mézeray's comments are more visible (in brackets in the body of the text or in the margins) and are sometimes ironic or emotionally colored. For example, de Mézeray describes Selim I's execution of Mustapha Basha as "[a fitting reward for this man who had helped him to bring down the prince his master]" (1662 ed., p. 32, original brackets). There is no counterpart to this statement in the Latin edition.[58] On the other hand, outright interpolations in the vernacular editions, though telling, are rare.

The differences between the Latin and the vernacular translations are not surprising. Translators working in Latin anticipated a sophisticated, even scholarly, audience; Lewenklaw, in particular, devoted his life to translating eastern works. The vernacular translators, though often scholars, too, were de facto popularizers. They may have felt an obligation to protect or echo the sensibilities of ordinary citizens, and de Mézeray at least seems to have shared their views. Even so, the practices of the vernacular translators are paradoxical: they express hostility toward Islam and the Ottomans, but they still praise their authors, and thus reinforce the association of the east with wisdom, civilization, and learning. In addition, the vernacular translators circulated even more widely the colorful episodes, characters, and dialogue contained in these narratives.[59] They significantly enriched the information available to western writers (and readers) by providing so many instances of the sultans' military eloquence and shrewd diplomacy, and they contain striking examples of *hilm* and of a figure's being "hoist with his own petar[d]."

## Eloquence, Policy, and *hilm* in the Eastern Sources

Chalkokondyles offers many examples of the sultans' martial eloquence, and the length and contextual richness of the speeches he includes contrast with the brief "sayings" in the collections and histories discussed in chapter 3. During the reign of Murad I, his son and the son of the Byzantine Emperor joined forces to overthrow their fathers. Murad's counteroffensive was hindered by adverse terrain, so he sought to shame the soldiers who had taken his son's part. He rode along the front lines, and in "ringing tones" and a "voice [that] carried more than most," he called

> to each man by name, praising them for all the honorable or noteworthy deeds which they had accomplished in the past . . . : Brave men,

> [he said,] where are you going, deserting me, your father? Why did you forget what you have been taught and turn to this feeble child? If you allow me to flog him when I seize him I will not harm him in any other way. If however you want to test my prowess and choose to go to battle, know there will be no [end of?] ill in store for you afterwards. Join us and do not be ashamed on account of your honour; rather you should be ashamed of being commanded by a boy who deserves to be flogged. I swear before him who granted me power that no one will suffer any lasting harm. (139)[60]

His tactic largely works, and many soldiers return to his service without suffering any reprisal. When the sultan prevails, however, those who persisted in rebellion are brutally executed, "dropped off the city's cliff into the river, with their heads tied together," while the sultan "mocked them saying that dogs chase a running hare" (141). He insists that both sons be punished severely by their respective fathers, but they are not executed. Offering no overt comment, as is his habit, Chalkokondyles lets readers draw their own conclusions about the incident.

Examples of the sultan's more magnanimous treatment of rebels can also be found, however. Manuel, another Byzantine prince, also acted against Murad's interests. When the young man sought refuge with his father, the Emperor refused to harbor him for fear of Murad's anger. Taking his fate into his own hands,

> Manuel decided to go and see Murad himself to find out what his intentions were. . . . Murad heard that the Emperor's son was coming to see him and admired his courage. He went out to meet him as if he were going out to meet an enemy. . . . He kept quiet for short time and then discussed matters with him. He was smiling at him when he said the following: "Son of the Emperor, I know well that you acted in some justice in occupying the lands which are mine now but which used to be yours. What you did you did rightfully and I forgive you for the present. But be careful not to be found acting against me and my authority in this way again. I and the God who looks after me have shown that you acted foolishly. Thus if you want things to go well face the fact that we control European affairs." (143)

The incident reveals the sultan's respect for courage (even chutzpah) in an enemy, his confidence in both his army's power and his divine protection, and a politic willingness to forgo revenge if it will benefit his larger purposes. It is also one of the few accounts I can think of in which a sultan smiles. None of these points is articulated overtly by

the narrator, but neither does he undercut this example of Murad's restraint and shrewdness.

Perhaps the most negative way to represent the words of others (and the other) is to condemn them from their own mouths. The ironic application of a character's own words to himself or herself is a popular device in early modern drama. In Davenport's play, *The City Night Cap* (ca. 1624), an embittered Turkish slave dresses in his master's clothing and plots to achieve his freedom. Confident of success, he predicts that his master "shall understand/When we think death far off he's nearest hand." At that very moment, however, he himself is killed by someone who mistakes him for his master. He dies moralizing his own fate: "Mine own words catch me!"[61] Closely related are incidents in which a character falls into his own trap (such as Laertes's acknowledging that he is "justly kill'd with [his] own treachery," *Hamlet*, 5.2.307), but my analysis will be limited to occasions in which a character's words (rather than his plots or behavior) are the source of the irony.

Turning the spoken word against the speaker (or observing that God has done so) is not a uniquely western rhetorical tactic. The Arab historian ibn Khaldūn, who served as an emissary to Timūr from the sultan of Cairo, reports that Timūr delighted in tripping up visitors and prisoners. With the aid of his chief interpreter, 'Abd al-Jabbar, it was his custom "to ask questions of the Syrian scholars and then [to] use their answers as the reasons for torturing and killing many of them."[62] Though Marlowe could not have known this Arabic text, his Tamburlaine also takes pleasure in turning the tables on his enemies:

> I glory in the curses of my foes,
> Having the power from the empyreal heaven
> To turn them all upon their proper heads. (4.4.29–31)

In the historical sources generally, this topos is put to various ends. A speaker may use it as a provocation or as an ingenious self-defense. I have not found examples of turning a sultan's speech against him in sixteenth-century western sources about the Ottomans, but they occur in all the eastern versions of Timūr's exchanges with Bayazid before and after the battle of Ancora. In these accounts, they exemplify the practice of *hilm*, self-restraint in the service of verbal (and, symbolically, political) dominance, and, although the specifics vary, the eastern historians all represent Bayazid as in some degree condemned from his own mouth.

In some accounts, the significant exchanges between Timūr and Bayazid precede the battle proper. In the Greek and the Arabic histories,

Muslim princes whom Bayazid has dispossessed petition Timūr (the new power in the region) for redress of their grievances. In Chalkokondyles's account, Timūr is initially reluctant to pressure Bayazid, whom he praises as a warrior "fighting against the hero's [Mohammed's] enemies" (235). The princes insist, however, so Timūr sends an ambassador "with a robe to please Bayazid, according to the customs of the rulers of Asia" (235). The ambassadors urge the sultan to restore the princes' lands and to refer grievances to Timūr for judgment (237). Bayazid listens "calmly," but he is "annoyed" by the robe, and he does "not stop himself" from saying:

> Tell your King: You and those in Asia who believe in our religion should be grateful because I fight for the hero, against your worst enemies. You, however, instead of in any way assisting me in my struggle by sending troops and money, unnecessarily advise me on such matters. How are you grateful to me, as you claim, when you try to take away lands which I occupied when I subdued those who conspired against me? Tell your King from now on not to send a robe in place of his nation and good fortune. (237)

Timūr becomes "very angry at the effrontery concerning the robe" (237). He demands that Bayazid restore the aggrieved princes' lands "without delay," but the sultan rejects his ultimatum with an insulting challenge: "If . . . [Timūr] does not come to fight us, let him have his wife three times" (237). Chalkokondyles explains that Islamic law does not permit a man to remarry a wife if more than "three spleens" have passed since the divorce. Thus it is an insult "for someone . . . to have his wife possessed three times" (237 and 261 n.105).

In Chalkokondyles's view, Bayazid is punished appropriately for these words. His insults go beyond the limits of μέτρον (*metron*, good measure or good manners) and constitute νβρις (*hybris* or hubris).[63] After his defeat, his insult is visited upon him by Timūr. Timūr's soldiers raid the sultan's harem in Bursa and take the women away, including "Lazar's daughter, whom Bayazid loved more than his other wives" (327). Timūr then stages a humiliating scene: "Timur took [Bayazid's wife] with him around the camp and ordered her to serve him wine in her husband's presence" (327). Chalkokondyles reports that Bayazid "was enraged and said: 'Your father and mother were poor and from common stock, and you do not have the right to mock the children and wives of kings and to insult your natural masters' " (327). Having himself overstepped the bounds of measured speech, however, the sultan's words have lost their power. In response, Timūr laughs, letting actions rather than words speak for him.

Arabshah's account is similar, emphasizing Bayazid's royal pride before the battle and the class rivalry between the two, but Arabshah views the sultan more positively than does Chalkokondyles. He was "a just ruler, pious and brave in defense of religion, who when he had said and begun anything, did not rest until he had brought it to a conclusion" (170). In Arabshah's account, two Muslim princes from Timūr's army seek refuge with Bayazid (thus reversing the pattern of petition and succor reported by Chalkokondyles). Timūr, using them "as an excuse" to start hostilities, sends the sultan a letter "designed to inspire fear and panic" (170). Bayazid, however, refuses to turn over the fugitives and cannot "even restrain himself a little." As he reads the letter, he is

> seized with violent anger and indignation now raising his voice, now lowering it, . . . as though he had drunk hasheesh. Then he said, "Shall he frighten me by this folly or drive to me flight by these fables? Does he suppose that I am like the kings of the barbarians or the savage Tatars of Dasht . . . ?" (171)

He compares his own righteous wars with Timūr's mere brigandage: "[This] one fights like a dog, grasping at this world, but we wage war to establish the word of Allah which is the highest thing" (172). He concludes his diatribe with a challenge similar to that recorded by Chalkokondyles: "if you should not come, may your wives be condemned to triple divorce. If I . . . decline to fight with you, then may my wives be utterly condemned to that triple divorce" (173). Timūr concludes that "The son of Othman is mad, for he was prolix and sealed the purpose of his letter with mention of women," which, Arabshah explains, among "them . . . is a crime and grave offense" (173).[64]

Although he admires Bayazid, Arabshah like Chalkokondyles sees these words as the source of Bayazid's undoing. Having brazenly (not subtly) insulted his rival, he is punished after his defeat. Arabshah's version of the episode highlights the psychological subtlety with which Timūr tortures the captive sultan:

> [Timūr] one day held a public banquet and when the wing of hilarity was loosened . . . he rolled up the carpet of prohibition and command and unrolled the carpet of wine and music, and when the place was full of men he ordered that Ibn Othman [Bayazid] should be brought in; and he came with trembling heart and hampered by his fetters, but [Timūr] ordered him to be of good courage and put aside his fear and seating him comfortably and treating him with courtesy, he removed his sadness.

> Then he ordered the circles of merry-making to be formed . . . , and he ordered that the sun of wine should move from the east of the goblet to the west of the lips, and it was done: but as soon as the clouds of veils were scattered from the sun of the cupbearers, . . . Ibn Othman saw that the cupbearers . . . were his wives and concubines; then the world seemed black to him and he thought the likeness of the agonies of death sweet and his breast was torn and his heart burned, his distress increased, his liver was crushed, groans came from the bottom of his heart, and his sighs were redoubled; his wound broke out again and his sore was newly inflamed, and the butcher of calamity scattered salt on the wound of his affliction. (188)

The double insult is then enacted: the sultan's wives and concubines are forced to wait upon strange men, and by serving wine they are required to participate in a "western" vice, temporarily authorized by Timūr. Bayazid reacts with rage and grief, inspired in this version not by his military defeat, but by the insult to his favorite wife and to himself as a king, a husband, and a Muslim.

This passage echoes details in other eastern accounts. One is Timūr's talent for manipulation: he puts Bayazid at ease and pretends to be courteous in order to increase the shock of the scene he has planned. Indeed, Arabshah reports that Timūr had subjected the sultan to daily humiliation: he ordered Bayazid "to be brought to him every day, and received him with kind and cheerful speech and marks of pity, then derided and mocked him" (188). Sadeddin reports that, whenever he decamped, it was Timūr's habit to ask Bayazid "how he was feeling and if he were not sad" (25); in context, Timūr's questions sound like another round of *hilm*, not kindness. As we shall see, Timūr's seeming gentleness is transmitted as genuine in some later western redactions (notably du Bec and, through him, Knolles). Despite his sympathy for Bayazid's sufferings, Arabshah views the sultan's punishment as the result of his own rash words: "This calamity befell Ibn Othman, because in his letter he had sworn an oath mentioning women"(188). Timūr, "the butcher of calamity," is not viewed positively in this account: his successes are ascribed to "fortune," not to "the favour of Allah" (173), but the role of the sultan's hot temper is not scanted. While Bayazid's emotions may be seen as proper for an emperor of high spirit, his words reveal a lack of *hilm*, and his inability to conceal his emotions causes his bitter fate. Thus, both the Christian Chalkokondyles and the Muslim Arabshah find the sultan punished for his words before the battle.

The Turkish annals focus on the aftermath of the battle, not its prelude. Timūr sends ambassadors to Bayazid asking him to restore

the lands of the Muslim princes, but there is no mention of a robe or of any insult to Timūr's wife. Timūr concludes that Bayazid is "mocking him" ("*despici se contemnique videret*," 22), but the sultan's response is neither quoted nor summarized sufficiently to establish whether this conclusion is justified. Like all the eastern sources, however, the Turkish annals depict Timūr asking one or more of the following questions of the sultan after his defeat: (1) why were you so foolish as to challenge me (or the emperor of the Byzantines)?; (2) do you not know that I hold your life in my hands?; (3) why are you so cruel to those you vanquish? (the question asked of Timūr by an Italian merchant in many Latin histories); and (4) if God had given you the victory, what would you have done with me?

Chalkokondyles begins with the first of the questions listed above. Timūr asks:

> "Wretched man, why did you dare your luck and challenge us to fight? Did you not know that they whose sons resisted my army are woeful?" It is said that Bayazid replied that he would not have reached this point had Timūr not caused him so much trouble and often encouraged Mohammed's hostile nations. Timūr said: "I think that if your head were not in the clouds and you were not so arrogant this disaster would not have befallen you. God usually humbles and chastises the arrogant and vain." (325)

Bayazid's view is less vigorously represented than Timūr's: it is indirectly reported, not quoted, and framed by the qualifier "it is said." Timūr also criticizes the sultan's obsession with hunting. (Chalkokondyles reports that Bayazid had "seven thousand falcons and approximately six thousand hounds," 325.) Bayazid scornfully replies: "Hunting is not for a Scythian bandit like you, but a fondness for hounds and falcons befits me, the son of Murad, Orhan's son, and descendant of kings" (325).[65] Timūr "angered" by these words "order[s] him to be carried around a camp on a mule and hissed at" (325). Ellis-Fermor observes that Bayazid's "princely indignation outran a due sense of his situation."[66] In Chalkokondyles's view, Bayazid's defiance here is of a piece with his earlier insult to Timūr's wife. By insisting on his superior breeding, he extends the display of hubris, for which Timūr (and God) punishes him via the demeaning display of his person. But while Bayazid was devastated by Timūr's treatment of his wife, he responds to the attempt to humiliate him with persistent scorn toward his captors: "while he was being carried around [the camp], he asked whether falconry and hunting with hounds was customary among them" (325 and 327).

In the *Annales*, Sadeddin heightens the sense of Bayazid's being hoist with his own petard, but he implies that the sultan is outwitted by a human adversary rather than punished by God. In his version, Timūr meets the defeated sultan on an equal footing (literally on foot, not on horseback: "*Ei Temir Chan pedes obviam processit*," 24). He welcomes him "with great honor, leading him into his own tent" (24). While they sit "on the same carpet on the ground as was the custom" (24), Timūr offers the sultan food and begins a conversation. Timūr observes that they should both give thanks to God for their large dominions, although he acknowledges (disingenuously one suspects) that Bayazid may feel less grateful at the moment "because God has let [him] fall in such great calamity" ("*ac tanta tibi calamitas accidit*," 24). Then he encourages the sultan to confide in him:

> "Tell me, Chan, if it were in your power to do with me as you will, what, pray tell, would you do with me? Come now, speak frankly." Then Gilderun Chan, whom we gather to have been a man of fierce and irascible spirit, is said to have responded, not without bile: "For my part, if by favorable fortune, you had come into my power, I would have led you around from here to there enclosed in an iron cage." When Temir had heard this, he immediately ordered: "Make a cage out of iron," and he locked Bayazid in it by way of a prison. After that, the soldiers were granted freedom to spread out over the entire region and to plunder everything. (24–25)[67]

Sadeddin is diplomatic: he qualifies his description of Bayazid's answer with the phrase "whom we gather to have been a man of" and a passive verb (he "is said" to have responded). Still, in this Turkish account, Bayazid's own words literally result in his cruel treatment. The courtesy of Timūr seems suspect, at best, especially the invitation to "speak frankly," which recalls ibn Khaldūn's claim that Timūr was fond of tripping up his prisoners.[68] Bayazid's "fierce and irascible spirit" plays a role, but he seems to have been cleverly tricked into designing his own fate—bested at the game of *hilm*—rather than (as in Chalkokondyles) punished by God for hubris. The 1662 French translation adds that Timūr was "irritated" by the sultan's "outrageous response" (13) which seems a fair inference, but the *Annales* do not editorialize; they merely report Bayazid's words and Timūr's actions.

The first English version of these events appears in H.M.'s translation of du Bec's *Histoire du Grand Tamerlanes.* In contrast to Arabshah and Sadeddin, du Bec is sympathetic to Timūr and hostile to Bayazid. He introduces Bayazid as a "proud lightning from heaven" who was

guilty of "execrable cruelties . . . against all sexes and ages" (114). He depicts Timūr as a model prince and defender of the ancient empire of the Byzantines, qualities which the marginal comments (probably H.M.'s) also highlight.[69] Du Bec does not include the prebattle diplomatic exchanges, but he reports in detail the encounter between the two leaders afterwards. Though his account differs slightly from those discussed above, it retains the important details and thus strengthens the possibility that du Bec had access to an eastern version of the story.[70]

Du Bec reports that Bayazid was wounded during the battle and "fell alive into the hands" of his enemies (124). After taking care "to get his hands on" Bayazid's children, Timūr "gave commandment" that Bayazid's wounds should be treated and that he should then be "brought before him" (125). Displeased that the captive sultan "never made any show of humility," Timūr reminds him that he had the power "to cause him to lose his life," to which the sultan responds, "Do it; that loss shall be my happiness" (125). Timūr then asks Bayazid two of the traditional questions:

> [W]hat made him [Bayazid] so rash for to enterprise to bring into subjection so noble a Prince as was the Emperour of the Greeks. [Bayazid] answered him, The desire of glory and rule. Wherefore dost thou (said the Emperour unto him) use so great cruelty towards men, so far forth that neither thou nor thine do pardon either sex or age? This do I (answered he) to give the greater terrour to my enemies. Then said the Emperour, So shalt thou receive the like reward. (125)

In this version, Timūr's courtesy is depicted as genuine, and the sultan's blunt defiance provokes his punishment. However, Timūr's response, "So shalt thou receive the like reward," seems a non sequitur. Bayazid's punishment does not mirror his alleged cruelty regardless of "sex or age" (though rank might be relevant); humiliation rather than death or violence is his lot. The order for Bayazid's punishment ("So shalt thou receive the like reward") is usually Timūr's response to the last of the traditional questions ("What would you have done with me if you were the victor?"), but Timūr does not ask this question in du Bec's account. It is as if the set-up (the final question and Bayazid's answer) has slipped out of the narrative, but the punch line (Timūr's order) has been preserved.

Du Bec's version concludes with much moralizing commentary from Timūr. He orders Bayazid to be "conveyed . . . out of his presence," saying, "[B]ehold a proud and fierce countenance, he deserveth

to be punished with cruelty, an exemplary punishment to all the cruel of the world, of the just wrath of God against them" (126). The text asserts that Bayazid himself acknowledged that he was "justly punished, for despising [Timūr's] multitude" and for overconfidence in "the valour of his horsemen" (127). Du Bec also reports the sultan's emotional reaction to his defeat: it was "three days . . . before he could be pacified, as a desperate man seeking after death, and calling for it" (127), and he includes some of the humiliations included in western accounts (the sultan's being used as a mounting block). But unlike other eastern writers and the earlier continental historians, he views them as deserved and "justly" administered.

Thus, all the eastern accounts acknowledge that Bayazid's pride played a role in his humiliation, but they differ in their attitude toward that pride. For Sadeddin and Arabshah, it was the hallmark of a noble spirit and great king (though expressed unwisely and exploited by a clever adversary), but for Chalkokondyles and especially du Bec it called down God's vengeance. Since du Bec attributes this view to Timūr and to the sultan himself, even more than the others, he presents the sultan as hoist on his own petard. As we shall see, du Bec's version is almost word for word the version one finds in Knolles.

## Conclusion

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, eastern sources translated into Latin and other languages circulated in western Europe, initiating a cross-cultural dialogue mediated by the editors and translators of these texts. After 1588, westerners could cite not only words of the sultans circulated in continental and Byzantine texts, but the "Turks' own chronicles." As a result, educated readers and scholars alike had access to even more detailed and nuanced versions of the Ottoman past. The *Annales sultanorum* is naturally full of the sultans' heroic deeds and charitable works; after every successful campaign, Sadeddin alludes to mosques and hospitals that the sultans built for the people. The translators and disseminators valued the eastern sources for their new information, vivid incidents, and presumed accuracy. They recognized that Turkish or Arabic sources inevitably preserved an eastern point of view, just as Latin sources preserved a western one. Although they sometimes rejected an eastern account as biased or as less reliable than competing ones, the Latin editors, especially, transmitted their texts intact and relegated their responses to the margins and endnotes. Consequently, western knowledge about the Ottomans and other

eastern peoples was enriched and complicated by their representations of themselves.

Evilya Çelebi's ten-volume *Seyâhatnâme,* The book of travels (ca.1630–1670), an Ottoman literary classic, suggests that the cultural exchange I have been examining went in both directions. Çelebi's work is the fruit of forty years of travel, chiefly in the service of a prominent Ottoman official.[71] Widely circulated in manuscript and printed (in Turkish and other languages) in the nineteenth century, it provides a panoramic survey of the empire at its height for literate members of the Ottoman community who wished to be amused as well as instructed.[72] In recounting the pre-Ottoman history of his native city (he uses both its Greek name, "Kostantiniyya," and the Turkish "Islámból" or Istanbul), Çelebi describes an educational exchange that occurred in his youth:

> Having been from my infancy desirous of seeing the world, and not remaining in ignorance, I learned the Greek and Latin languages of my friend Simyún (Simeon) the goldsmith,[73] to whom I explained the Persian glossary of Sháhidí, and he gave me lessons in the *Aleksanderah (Alexandra)*, i.e., the *History of Alexander*. He also read to me the history of Yanván, from which these extracts are taken.[74]

In Istanbul, a Turkish youth might read Greek and Latin accounts of his city's history—or have them read to him—just as a western Christian might read Turkish, Arabic, or Greek sources in translation. In some respects, Çelebi's sensibility does not seem so far from that of Giovio and Cambini and their translators. His great-grandfather served in the retinue of Mehmed II,[75] but Çelebi does not hesitate to describe the sultan as "a mighty but blood-thirsty monarch," who as "soon as he had mounted the throne . . . caused Hasan, his younger brother by the same mother, to be strangled."[76] Apparently, a Turkish writer might view the darker side of imperial politics with much the same blend of criticism and realism as his continental and English counterparts.

In the eastern sources, western readers had access to the words of the sultans and other Muslim leaders as recorded by their own—or by other eastern—historians. Some dialogues and set speeches were different in kind from those previously available (notably the extended representations of war councils and political discussions among the sultan and his advisors), and these published works vastly increased the number of instances in which a sultan's words were directly or indirectly quoted. On occasion, western historians might have found

themselves in agreement with the moral judgments of their Orthodox and Muslim counterparts, such as Chalkokondyles's and Arabshah's views of Bayazid's rashness or hubris. Paradoxically, however, in the story of Bayazid and Timūr, western historians may have also found a model of how they might use the Turks' own histories against them. How this practice operated in the work of Richard Knolles is the subject of the next chapter.

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# Chapter 5

# Citing "the Turkes' Own Chronicles": Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes*

Published in 1603, Richard Knolles' monumental work is popularly known as *The Generall Historie of the Turkes.*[1] The opening section describes the Saracen and Seljuk Turkic kingdoms that preceded the Ottomans in Anatolia (pages 1–130), and the last section is a long essay entitled *Discourse of the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire* (unpaginated). These sections generalize about the Ottomans and view them (in an oft quoted phrase) as "the present terror of the world" (1). The heart of the work, however, is *The Lives and Conquests of the Othoman Kings and Emperours* (pages 131–1152), thirteen books each devoted to the character and accomplishments of an individual sultan. In a thousand pages, Knolles provides for English readers the most richly detailed accounts of the sultans' exploits to date. As noted earlier, the *Generall Historie* went through six editions, continued and updated by other hands. Judging by the dog-eared condition of the many surviving copies, the folio was eagerly read,[2] and Knolles' literary influence continued even after his history was out of date.[3]

In *Before Orientalism*, Richmond Barbour notes that Knolles' history was "the product of an untraveled imagination" and that its emphasis on political and military history ignored "the capitalist initiative that was reshaping a cohesive world of multiple and shifting alliances."[4] While Barbour is right that Knolles never left England or learned Turkish, Knolles was the beneficiary of significant east-west textual exchange. Among the "continental histories" he consulted were translations of the

genuinely eastern sources discussed in the previous chapter, including the translations of Chalkokondyles and Sadeddin, and du Bec's "Arabic" history of Tamburlaine. Knolles' use of the eastern sources epitomizes the rhetorical strategies by which he tried to reconcile his contradictory materials. In particular, especially in comparison with Marlowe's imaginative identification with two very different Muslim emperors, Knolles' version of the history of Bayazid and Timūr illustrates how to use the eastern histories—and even the Turks' own chronicles—against them. Nonetheless, by absorbing and disseminating the eastern sources, Knolles significantly enriched and complicated the versions of Ottoman history available to English readers.

## Knolles and the Eastern Sources

In his epistle "To the Reader," Knolles discusses the new sources upon which he relied:

> I request of thee, that if . . . thou chance to light upon some things otherwise reported than thou hast elsewhere read them (as I doubt not that thou mayest) not therefore forthwith to condemn what thou here findest, being happily taken from a more certain reporter than was that whereunto thou givest more credit. (sig. [A6v])

Like Clauser and de Vigenère, he praises Chalkokondyles and other Byzantine historians by name (sig. [A6r]). Noting the "variety, or more truly to say, contrariety" of his sources, he says, he "collected so much of the history as possibly [he] could" from "eye-witnesses" who are "most like also to have left unto us the very truth . . . all writing such things as they themselves saw, or were for the most part in their time and near unto them done" (sig. [A6r]). His preface highlights several Byzantine Greek sources not yet circulated in English, such as Nicephoras Gregoras, Leonardus Chiensis, and Theodorus Spanduginus (who himself relied on Chalkokondyles for events up to 1463).[5] The list of authors whom Knolles "especially used" includes Lewenklaw's translation of Sadeddin, the *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum*, his *Historiae Musulmanae*, and the *Alchoran Turcicum* (the "Turkish Koran," sig. [A6v]).[6] Knolles also praises Lewenklaw highly in the body of his history, describing him as a "learned physician" and a "great traveler" (231) among the Turks and reports that he was the "most curious searcher out of the Turks' antiquities and monuments" (1). As noted earlier, Foxe's *History and Tyranny of the Turks* is not listed among his sources, though it seems likely that Knolles had read it.

Unlike the Latin editors of the eastern sources, Knolles does not adopt Muslim dates, place names, and titles. Indeed, he complains that the Turks alter "the ancient and usual" names of peoples and places "into other strange and barbarous names of their own devising, in such sort as might well stay [hinder] an intentive [*sic*] reader" (sig. [A5v]).[7] He uses only Christian dates. In discussing the unity of the Muslims, Knolles observes that they refer to themselves as "*Islami*, that is to say, men of one mind or at peace among themselves" (sig. [A5r]), but he does not use this term throughout his history, as William Seaman was to do. Moreover, unlike du Bec, Artus, and Golius, who honor the style and form of their eastern sources, Knolles is critical of the Turks' histories. Although he acknowledges that from them "the greatest light . . . was in reason to have been expected," he denigrates them with a stereotypical epithet and a confidential aside: the Turkish annals are "(according to their barbarous manner) so sparing and short, as that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes than just [proper] histories" (sig. [A5v]). To make up their deficiencies, he says, he turned to western eyewitness accounts, including those of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Marin Barleti,[8] and Nicolas de Nicolay (sig. [A6r]). Knolles also cites Italian and German sources "not yet written in Latin" (sig. [A6r]). Nonetheless, his history is replete with references to the "Turks' own chronicles," and he often follows their version of events to correct or to complicate received western accounts.

Since citing the "history written by the enemy" is the historiographic equivalent of quoting the sultans, it is no surprise that Knolles' practices in this regard resemble the uses of dialogue in continental histories discussed in chapter 2. And, as it happens, the portions of the *Annales* and other eastern histories on which he relies also prominently feature dialogue and direct quotations. Knolles' practices thus reveal on both the level of narrative and of metanarrative the challenges and consequences of letting the sultan speak. In recording the reigns of the earlier sultans, Knolles is often content to rely on Lewenklaw's *Annales* and their accounts of the Turks' heroic age. In recording recent events, however, he is more likely to rely on western European observers, partly out of necessity (since most of the available eastern sources are of early date) and partly for ideological comfort.[9] Often, by means of a "then versus now" comparison, he can both praise the early sultans for their martial vigor and political subtlety (even at the expense of European Christians) and criticize the latter day Turks for abandoning the fearsome virtues of their predecessors.

## BAYAZID I IN *TAMBURLAINE* AND KNOLLES' *LIFE OF BAIAZET*

A comparison of Knolles' *Life of Baiazet, the first of that name, the fourth and most unfortunate king of the Turkes* (pages 202–28 in the *Historie*) with *1,2, Tamburlaine* provides a telling example of Knolles' use of the eastern sources. Although Knolles was a Kentish schoolmaster, not a Londoner, it seems probable that he would have known Marlowe's play, by reputation and as a reading text, if not in performance. The subject would have been of great interest to him, and any play that inspired so many imitators and comments would have probably been familiar to other men of letters. The relationship between Knolles' *Historie* and *Tamburlaine* may include an unexpected recursiveness of influence. Antonius Bonfinius's Latin account of the Battle of Varna is the source for the incident in *Part 2* in which King Sigismund breaks his treaty with the Turks. Marlowe could, of course, have consulted the Latin text, but Thomas and Tydeman speculate that he might have seen Knolles' translation of Bonfinius (the one they include in their collection) prior to its publication in the *Historie*. Both writers, they point out, were associated with "the Kentish family of Manwood from Sandwich, so that the connection is by no means far-fetched."[10] So Knolles may have influenced Marlowe in this instance, rather than the other way round.

In representing the contest between Timūr and Bayazid, however, Knolles' *Life* has little in common with Marlowe's play. Instead of a clash of mighty opposites, neither exhibiting conventional Christian values, Knolles provides a conflict of good versus evil and the divine punishment of a proud (even wicked) infidel, namely Bayazid. In creating his version of the story, Knolles relies largely (though not exclusively) on the eastern sources, which emphasize Bayazid's rashness in refusing Timūr's gifts, as well as Timūr's exercise of *hilm* when the two generals meet. Knolles reinterprets these details, however, so as to condemn Bayazid for the frankness and royal pride that eastern sources would have granted him—and even admired.

Some incidents that Knolles adapts from the Turkish annals, especially those before the encounter with Timūr, present Bayazid as shrewd and fiery but righteous. As reported by Sadeddin, on his return to Brusa after several successful Anatolian campaigns, Bayazid, like many of his predecessors, built "a magnificent Mohametan temple," "forbore drinking of wine," and reposed "himself with the company of grave and learned men, and the administration of justice, whereby he greatly won the hearts of his subjects" (209).[11] Knolles

cannot resist saying that the sultan's abstinence was out of "superstition" (209), a common western denigration of Islam, and he may hope to imply that Bayazid's actions were *merely* calculated to win popular favor. But in the absence of direct commentary to that effect, these details portray the sultan as a pious and civic-minded leader. He also includes an episode in which the sultan "moved with pity" granted the son of a conquered Anatolian prince both his life and the administration of a city he might otherwise have assigned to a captain of his own (209).

Other incidents confirm that Bayazid's concern for justice, a positive stereotype long associated with the Ottomans, was genuine if severe. Knolles reports that, as Bayazid's "kingdom grew in greatness, so corruption, the canker of great states, . . . increased likewise," and the sultan was "grievously offended" (207). As in the *Annales*, Bayazid commands his vizier to apprehend the corrupt judges and execute them as an example ("to the terror of others," 207).[12] The vizier, recognizing that Bayazid was "in his anger dangerous to be spoken unto," enlists the help of an "Æthiopian jester" who "would many times bolt out . . . to the king . . . [that] which his gravest counselors durst not once speak to him of in secret" (207). This allowed fool then designs and presents a clever playlet in which he proposes to go to Constantinople to bring back "forty or fifty . . . old grave monks and friars" to replace the Muslim judges facing execution:

> Why (said Baiazet) I can place others of my own people in their rooms. True (said the Aethiopian) for gravity of look and countenance, and so would the old monks and friars serve as well; but not so learned in your laws and customs . . . as are those in your displeasure. If they be learned (said Baiazet) why do they then contrary to their learning pervert justice and take bribes? There is good reason for that, too, said the jester. . . . That can he that there standeth by tell better than I . . . pointing to [the vizier]. (207)

The vizier explains that the judges lack a salary and are therefore forced to take bribes "for their necessary maintenance." Whereupon, Bayazid, "understanding [this] to be true" pardoned the accused and commanded the vizier to appoint them appropriate stipends, "which fees they yet take in those courts at this day" (207). The episode represents Bayazid as quick to anger, but it also aligns him with the Turks' reputation for justice. The jester recalls the thirteenth-century Turkish folk hero, Nasreddin Hodja, renowned for

his "common sense, ingenuousness, and ridicule."[13] He also resembles Shakespeare's wise fools, such as Touchstone in *As You Like It* and Feste in *Twelfth Night*, and anticipates the Fool in *King Lear* (though Bayazid gets the point more quickly than did Lear). A contemporary English reader might have noted the parallels and could have intuited, not without reason, some similarities between court life in the east and the west.

Knolles also includes a second anecdote, for which I have so far found no source in the *Annales.* The jester pretends to criticize some soldiers with whom Bayazid was angry. When Bayazid asks his reasons, he responds ironically:

> Reason (quoth the jester) because the knaves be good for nothing, and they say that Tamerlan is with a great army coming against us: if you will but take up an ensign in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I will strike up such a terrible march, and you make such a dreadful show, that we shall need none of these bad fellows . . . in the field to get the victory over our enemies. (208)

In response, Bayazid, "his fury now somewhat assuaged, granted [the soldiers] pardon which they looked not for" (208). Here, once again, the sultan's anger requires managing by his subordinates, but it is not presented as misdirected or unreasonable. As in the first anecdote, the jester anticipates Lear's Fool in his witty attempt to bring his master to his senses, dialogically paraphrasing the sultan's language ("the knaves," "these bad fellows") so as to call his judgment into question (cf. *Lear*, 1.4.144–47). It is possible that the second anecdote (like a third in which the jester insults the sultana, claims the sultan is a "devil," and takes to his heels [208]) is a western invention. But unlike the third one, the second anecdote gains credibility from its resemblance to the first, which follows closely the text of the *Annales* (19–20).

In other respects, however, Knolles' *Life of Baiazet* expands or insists upon negative details about the sultan that Marlowe ignored. Though he acknowledges that the "Turks' annals" do not charge Bayazid with fratricide (201), Knolles elsewhere asserts that "Baiazet . . . first of all the Turkish monarchs imbrued his hands with his brother's blood." (179).[14] He also provides a less flattering account of the sultan's behavior at the battle of Nicopolis than that in the continental histories.[15] Knolles does not report that the Duke of Niverne sued for the lives of his noble companions, who were "gently" spared by the sultan and well treated after (as in Giovio). He merely asserts that Bayazid "commanded" the Duke to "make choice

of five . . . of the captives" and that all the rest were summarily "cut in pieces before his face" (206). In reporting the battle itself, Knolles does stress the sultan's wisdom and the (Catholic) Christians' pride. Before the battle, King Sigismund tempts heaven with a proud boast:

> [I]n his great jollity on hearing of the coming of the Turk [Sigismund did] proudly say: what need we fear the Turk, who need not . . . fear the falling of the heavens; which if they should fall, yet were we able with our [so numerous] spears and halberds to hold them up for falling on us. (205)

A few paragraphs later, Knolles comments that the king, "who but a little before [had] despised even the falling of the heavens" was almost taken prisoner himself (206). Knolles also faults the pride of the French, who "desired to have the honour of the first charge" and "in their heat" set upon the Turks' strategically divided army before the Hungarians were "set in order" (205). But overall, his version of this episode in Bayazid's career is less positive than that in some earlier western histories.

Knolles' handling of the events leading to the war with Timūr, in particular, illustrates his tendency to Christianize Timūr and to demean Bayazid. In Marlowe's play, Tamburlaine scorns the sultan's offer of a truce out of ambition and pride. Employing a double-voiced paraphrase, Tamburlaine mocks Bajazeth's threat to attack if the Turkish emissary is detained beyond three days: "He meet me in the field and fetch thee hence!" (3.3.5). In Knolles' account, on the other hand, Timūr intervenes in Ottoman affairs only when petitioned (as in Chalkokondyles and du Bec) by the Muslim princes whom Bayazid had dispossessed. Timūr, Knolles tell us, "was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieving of the distressed" (210)—a quality not seen in Marlowe's play, which does not mention the Muslim princes' complaints against Bayazid. In Knolles (as in Chalkokondyles), Timūr sends a rich garment in an attempt to make peace between Bayazid and the disgruntled princes. Knolles indirectly quotes the sultan's rude rejection of the gift, dialogically criticizing the sultan's terms of address. Bayazid, he says, instructed the ambassador to tell Timūr

> to send his rags for presents unto his inferiours, and not unto princes of greater power and state than himself. Adding thereunto many other words full of despite and disdain, affording him no better style than the plain name of *Tamerlane.* (211)

Knolles thus inverts the parallel episode in Marlowe's play. In act 3, Tamburlaine provokes the sultan by referring casually to "that Bajazeth" (3.3.65) and addressing him disrespectfully ("know thou, Turk," 3.3.72). The sultan responds angrily ("And dar'st thou bluntly call me Bajazeth?" 3.3.71). Knolles, following the eastern tradition, reverses the sequence, making the sultan the initiator of the insult.

To be sure, Knolles acknowledges Timūr's pragmatic motive for clashing with Bayazid (he wished to curb the sultan's power before he had "settled" in his new lands [214]). In a confidential aside, he credits Bayazid with accurately perceiving "(as the truth was)" that all Timūr's messages to him were "mere threatening and forewarnings of his more dangerous purposes and designs against him and his state" (211), and he echoes the language of the *Annales* in observing that Bayazid was not "idle" during the preliminaries to war (211).[16] But he also emphasizes Timūr's divinely appointed task, namely, to abate "the Othoman pride: for which . . . he was (as he would often times say) by God himself appointed" (213). Consequently, Knolles emphasizes the sultan's pride and Timūr's modesty at every opportunity. Bayazid is confident of victory and "spares no intemperate speech, which might move [Timūr] to wrath" (211), while Timūr views the battle "without insolence or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of such a one as judged the events of battles to be (as they are) always doubtful" (215). Knolles' modest hero is thus the opposite of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, whose confidence verges on blasphemy: "And know thou, Turk, that those which lead my horse/Shall lead thee captive thorough Africa"; "I speak it and my words are oracles" (3.3.72–73, 102). Drawing on du Bec (who in turn recalls Holinshed's and Shakespeare's Henry V at Agincourt),[17] Knolles depicts Timūr on the eve of battle, "walking this night up and down in his camp" (218) listening to his soldiers' conversations. Unable to sleep, he studies the "book" of the deeds of his ancestors so as to imitate their successes and to avoid "such dangers as they by their rashness or oversight fell into" (218). Knolles tips the scales in Timūr's favor, not as Marlowe did by granting him underdog status, self-aggrandizing rhetoric, and a set of radically unconventional values, but by turning him into a modest, altruistic, all-but-Christian prince.

Knolles makes frequent use of the dialogue provided in Chalkokondyles, Sadeddin, and du Bec. In the play, even if Bajazeth seems overconfident before his defeat, the speeches Marlowe gives him in captivity earn respect and sympathy. The trajectory of Knolles' portrait is just the reverse; he begins with the sultan's early successes but ascribes his miserable fall to his own rash deeds and words. The only

direct quote that evokes sympathy for Bayazid occurs early in the *Life*. In Knolles' account as in Chalkokondyles', the sultan learns that his son Orthobules (Ertogrul) was killed in the massacre following Timūr's conquest of Sebastia. As he marches to meet his foe, Bayazid hears the sound of a shepherd's pipe and is moved to lament: "O happy shepherd, which hadest neither Orthobules nor Sebastia to lose" (216).[18] But having included this quotation, Knolles questions its historicity by citing the Turks themselves:

> Most of the Latin histories report that when Tamerlane had taken Sebastia, he put all the men to the sword . . . [and] that Baiazet there lost his eldest son. . . . Howbeit the Turks themselves reporting the taking of Sebastia, speak not of Orthobules at all, but give him lost six years before. (216)

If Orthobules died at Sebastia at Timūr's hands, the sultan's cause is stronger and more personal than if he died elsewhere at an earlier date. (Knolles tends to downplay the fact that Timūr was invading Bayazid's territories, not vice versa.) Thus, by citing the annals, Knolles weakens sympathy for the sultan.

All the other dialogue in Knolles' account works relentlessly against the sultan's claims on our sympathy. Knolles adheres to the chronicles that portray Timūr's forces as more numerous than the Ottomans', but when the governor of Sebastia reports this information, Bayazid angrily rejects the truth: "Proud Baiazet in great choler replied: Out of doubt the sight of the Tartarian hath made this coward so afraid, that he thinketh every enemy to be two" (216). As the eastern sources make clear, in taking offense at this and other bits of intelligence rather than heeding them, Bayazid weakens his own chances for victory.[19] In his concluding Plutarchan comparison of Bayazid and Timūr, Knolles contrasts Timūr's liberality with Bayazid's tightfistedness. Bayazid, he reports, would often observe that "his treasures were his children's meat, not his soldiers' pay" (227), a saying not found in the continental histories. Later these words were turned against Bayazid by a common soldier "by way of reproach." When the sultan "raged to see himself . . . forsaken in the great battle against Tamerlane," the deserter cried "that he ran not away, but went to seek his pay wherewith to provide his children bread" (227).[20]

The most telling contrasts between Marlowe and Knolles arise from the latter's reliance on the eastern versions of Timūr's entertainment of the captive sultan and the genesis of his cruel treatment. In the play, having *"overcome"* the sultan in a brief off-stage *"battle"*

(3.3.210, SD), Tamburlaine demands, "Now, king of bassoes, who is conqueror?" Bajazeth acknowledges defeat, both to the victor ("Thou, by the fortune of this damnèd foil," 3.3.212–13) and to Zabina (3.3.233f.). Though he proudly predicts that his forces will regroup and restore his fortunes, he also requests, as would have been customary, "Yet set a ransom on me" (3.3.261). Tamburlaine, however, sneers at the "gold" of ransom (3.3.262), orders the Turk and his wife to be bound and led away, despite their protests ("Ah villains, dare ye touch my sacred arms? O Mahomet, O sleepy Mahomet!" (3.3.268–69). The next time we see Bajazeth, he is dragged on stage "*in his cage*" (4.2.0, SD) as Tamburlaine commands "Bring out my footstool" (4.2.1). Only at this point, after the punishment has been imposed, does the sultan pray that "heaven . . . frown" and "every fixèd star" punish Tamburlaine. In other words, the cage and footstool are presented as Timūr's predetermined plan, not the result of Bajazeth's words or actions.

Knolles' account, by contrast, follows the sequence of questions recorded in Chalkokondyles, the *Annales*, and du Bec. Timūr receives his prisoner "courteously," but when he points out that he (Timūr) has the power to take the sultan's life, Bayazid (as in du Bec) "presumptuously" answers him: "Do it: . . . that loss should be his greatest happiness" (220).[21] The unbending spirit, which in Marlowe's play and the eastern sources, characterized both the victor and the conquered, is here cast in a negative light and ascribed only to the Turk. As if the question had no relevance to his own actions in challenging the Ottomans, Timūr then asks Bayazid the second question found in the eastern histories: What made Bayazid "so proud as to enterprise to bring into his subjection so noble a prince as was the Greek emperour?" Bayazid replies, "Even the same thing that hath moved thee to invade me, namely the desire of glory and sovereignty" (220).[22] Bayazid's answer is potentially a home truth, but Knolles does not support the sultan's attempt to turn the tables on Timūr with any comment of his own. In the next exchange, Knolles follows du Bec's version of the anecdote of the Italian merchant. Timūr asks the sultan why *he* is so cruel to those *he* conquers, and Bayazid responds, "That did I (said he) to give the greater terror unto mine enemies" (220). Thus, the logic of Timūr's blood-red and pitiless black tents is put into Bayazid's mouth. Like other historians, Knolles admits Timūr's many acts of cruelty, sometimes citing the Turks themselves as his authorities[23]; however, in reporting this exchange, he does not acknowledge the irony of Bayazid's answer.

The *coup de grace* in Knolles' account, as in the *Annales*, is the final exchange between the two generals:

> [W]hat wouldst thou have done with me (said Tamerlane) if it had been my fortune to have fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said Baiazet) have enclosed thee in a cage of iron, and so in triumph have carried thee up and down my kingdom. Even so (said Tamerlane) shalt thou be served. (220)[24]

As in the *Annales* and other eastern sources, Bayazid is condemned from his own lips to the iron cage and public ridicule. Knolles also includes details from the western accounts: Bayazid's being fed crumbs under the table "like a dog" (221) and his being "used . . . for a footstool to tread upon, when [Timūr] mounted to horse" (220). Though these indignities are not traced to Bayazid's own words, they are justified (as in du Bec) by Timūr's references to the sultan's pride: "[T]urning to his followers [Timūr] said: Behold a proud and cruel man, he deserveth to be chastised accordingly, and to be made a example unto all the proud and cruel of the world, of the just wrath of God against them" (220).[25] For good measure, Knolles also includes the anecdote in which Tamburlaine responds to the remonstrances of others regarding his treatment of the sultan. A basha asks Timūr:

> to remit some part of his severity against the person of so great a prince; [Timūr] answered, That he did not use that rigour against him as a king, but rather did punish him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the blood of his own brother. (221)

There is no parallel for this anecdote in the *Annales*; Sadeddin reports that the bashas selected Bayazid as fittest to rule and eliminated his brother without consulting him (16).

In a final contrast with Marlowe's version of the story, Knolles reports that after keeping Bayazid a year in captivity, Timūr asks him why no one has tried to rescue him or paid his ransom. In the play this is not an issue. Tamburlaine himself decrees that no ransom will be set or accepted (3.3.232, 261–62), and Bajazeth's son Callapine is himself a prisoner until *Part 2*. When he escapes, he attempts vigorously to revenge his father's sufferings. Chalkokondyles has it that soldiers ordered to retreat during the battle later tried to rescue the sultan, but they were unsuccessful (327). The *Annales* report that his sons and others engaged in a strategic retreat during the battle and afterwards were too fearful to attempt a rescue (23–24). Knolles, however,

implies that even Bayazid's own people hate and despise him. Timūr, all innocence, says:

> I marvel that none of thy sons or friends either come to see thee or to entreat for thee. . . . If I should set thee at liberty, would they again receive thee as their lord and sovereign, or not? To whom Baiazet boldly answered: Were I at liberty, thou shouldest well see, how that I want neither courage nor means to revenge all my wrongs, and to make those disobedient and forgetful, to know their duties better. Which his proud answer made Tamerlane to keep a straighter hand over him. (222–23)

As for Bayazid's death, Knolles follows most western sources, reporting that after two years the sultan, "having no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his brains against the bars of the iron grate wherein he was enclosed" (227). He acknowledges that there are "divers other reports," but rejects the "Turks" who affirm "that he was set at liberty by Tamerlane, being by him beforehand poisoned, whereof he died three days after . . . (a report not like to be true)" (227). Knolles' source here is unclear, since the *Annales* also attribute Bayazid's death to suicide, although the circumstances are rather ambiguous.[26] They report that Bayazid asked Timūr to take away his Tartars (the soldiers who betrayed Bayazid in the climactic battle) and to promise not to utterly destroy his house ("*ne familiam meam aboleas,*" 25). Timūr agrees, but later he tells Bayazid that he will first bring him to Samarkand and then reestablish him in his own kingdom ("*inde te remittam in regnum tuum,*" 25). These words "strike Bayazid so forcefully, that he killed himself" ("*ut ipse sibi mortem conscisceret,*" 25). The death of the sultan by his own hand is an awkward moment for an Ottoman historian, especially if reinstatement was in the offing; suicide is forbidden for Muslims as for Christians. The implication doesn't seem to be that the sultan died of joy (like Gloucester at the end of *King Lear*). Perhaps one is to infer that he suspected Timūr's promise would turn out to be one more false courtesy, and that being taken to Samarkand meant being paraded in triumph, which in east and west alike seems a fate worse than death. Lewenklaw, in his endnotes, says that Chalkokondyles and the Turks agree that Bayazid, "driven to desperation on account of his sorrow" took his own life (n. 65). Apparently more sympathetic than Knolles, Lewenklaw ends his discussion of the sultan's death with a quotation from the *Aeneid* (11.831): "as the poet says, he 'fled from a shameful life of tyranny to the shades' " (n. 65).

Knolles ends his account with a Plutarchan comparison of Timūr and Bayazid, stressing the ferocity and ambition of both, but contrasting Timūr's liberality with Bayazid's irascibility and stinginess, which cost him the devotion of his soldiers (27–28). For Knolles, the story of Bayazid and Timūr shows that "worldly bliss consisteth not so much in possessing of much, subject unto danger, as in joying in a little contentment, devoid of fear" (216). This moral, which could not be farther from the spirit of Marlowe's play, supports Knolles' pervasive theme in the *Historie* as a whole: the Turks are the enemies of Christians, but they are themselves governed by God's Providence. Their successes are permitted as punishment for Christians' sins and disunity, and their miseries offer further evidence of the vanity of all ambition for earthly power—not only the Turks'. Although Marlowe's unChristianized portraits of Tamburlaine and Bajazeth caught the imagination of imitators in the theatrical world, both were rejected by Knolles. If one believes that powerful dramatic representations, such as Marlowe's, might influence learned histories, one will have to look elsewhere for evidence.

It is interesting to compare Knolles' representation of Bayazid with that of the Turkish writer Evilya Çelebi in his *Seyâhatnâme* or *The Book of Travels* (ca. 1650). In Çelebi's account, Bayazid is not a fratricide, and his initial strikes into Europe were, as in Whetstone's version of Mexía, intended to avenge the death of his father Murad I at Kosovo: "he fell like a thunderbolt on Káfiristán [the land of the unbelievers], slew multitudes of them, and began the tenth siege of Kostantaniyyeh [Constantinople]."[27] As regards the battle itself, Çelebi ascribes the sultan's defeat to Timūr's larger ("countless") army and to several factors not prominent in Knolles or other western accounts, but noted in Chalkokondyles and Sadeddin. These include Bayazid's determination to fight despite the unfavorable odds; "the bad counsels of the vizir," which resulted in many soldiers' being unpaid and defecting to the enemy; and the sultan's being mounted on "a sorry colt" who "had never seen any action" (29). He also reports that Bayazid's son vigorously and bloodily punished Timūr, smiting "his army with . . . a Mohammedan cleaver" (30), and that he and his forces were prevented from rescuing the sultan only "by God's will" since "Yildirim died that very night of a burning fever, in the cage in which he was confined" (30).

On Timūr's mistreatment of the sultan and their verbal combat, however, Çelebi's account corresponds to Knolles', but the common details are very differently assessed. Timūr receives the defeated sultan "with great respect," and the two sit down "on the same carpet to eat

honey and yoghurt” (29). Timūr, all innocence, says:

> “I thank God . . . for having delivered thee into my hand, and enabled me to eat and discourse with thee on the same table; but if I had fallen into thy hands, what wouldst thou have done?” Yildirim, from the openness of his heart, came to the point at once, and said, “By heaven! If thou hadst fallen into my hand, I would have shut thee up in an iron cage, and would never have taken thee out of it till the day of thy death!” (29)

What Knolles attributes to wicked pride, Çelebi attributes to Bayazid’s candor (“the openness of his heart”) and direct speaking (he “came to the point at once”). The result in his version is the same, however. Timūr, with a pretense of fellow feeling, responds:

> “What thou lovest in thy heart, I love in mine,” . . . and ordering an iron cage to be brought forthwith, shut Báyazíd up in it according to the wish he had himself expressed. (29)

The interpretations of Knolles and Çelebi are surely a classic example of how the “same” tale can be made to express the values of the teller. For Knolles, the sultan’s fierce pride was a cardinal sin; for Çelebi such pride (and his frankness in admitting to it) was what one should expect from an emperor worthy of the name. Paradoxically, although Knolles follows the details and dialogues of eastern sources more closely than previous western historians, Marlowe’s play is closer to the spirit of Çelebi’s account than is Knolles’. While Marlowe’s hero mocks Bajazeth’s pride and defiance, Marlowe’s play does not.

## Citing “the Turkes’ own chronicles”

While Knolles’ use of the eastern sources contributes significantly to his unsympathetic portrait of Bayazid, his use of the Turkish annals across the whole of the *Historie* is more complicated. Knolles is, understandably, most comfortable following Turkish accounts in matters that are not sensitive from a western point of view. For example, he corrects western accounts of the institution of the Janissaries: the corps was begun, he says under Murad I, “(as appeareth by the Turks’ own histories),” not under Murad II as reported by “Jovius [Giovio] with some other historiographers” (191). Similarly, Knolles relies on Turkish sources in estimating the casualties after the battle of Sebastia: “In this city of Sebastia was lost twelve thousand Turks, men, women,

and children, as their histories report" (216). Though this report is matter-of-fact, Knolles elsewhere admits evidence of the sorrow such casualties aroused in the Turks. In recording particularly heavy losses in a battle with the Persians, Knolles says, "the Turkish histories express the terror of this day, number it among their dismal days, terming it *the only day of Doom*" (511).

Not surprisingly, Knolles frequently cites the Ottoman version of events only to reject it. He acknowledges that "the Turks [say] that [Murad II] died miraculously forewarned of his death at Hadrianople" (331), but he follows Barleti, who reports that he died of rage after the failed siege of Croia. Similarly, although "the Turks report that [Bayazid II] died a natural death" (496), Knolles endorses the view that he was poisoned by his successor, Selim I. He bases his assertion not on the older Italian historians, such as Giovio, but on the testimony of Antonio Menavino, "a Genoway, who at that time served Baiazet in his chamber, and was present at his death." The escaped captive reported that "upon his [Bayazid's] body the evident tokens of poison were to be seen" (496).[28]

On other occasions he accepts the Turkish version of the facts, but imbues the discussion with (often gratuitous) anti-Turkish epithets, asides and allusions. Describing the interregnum that followed Timūr's defeat of Bajazet, Knolles displays a realistic insight—even sympathy—for the chaos that enveloped the empire and led to so many conflicting accounts. He rejects the Greek histories, even though they ought to be authoritative (since the Greeks were "by [the Turks] as their bad neighbors so much troubled," 231). After the sultan's death, he writes, Bayazid's sons were "striving (all, as it were, at once) for the restless room of sovereignty, which suffereth no partners," and in doing so they resembled the "earth-born brethren," an allusion to the sons of Cadmus, sown from the dragon's teeth, who rose up only to wreak "one another's destruction" (231). To sort out the confusion, he relies on the *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, "diligently gathered out of the Turks' own histories by Jo[annes] Leunclavius," and in doing so he considers that he is accepting "the authoritie of the Turkish history" (231). His tone is critical throughout, as in his reference to the "earth-born brethren," but his treatment of these incidents still contrasts favorably with the comparable paragraph in Foxe's *History and Tyranny of the Turks*.[29] Foxe has no interest in the truth of the matter, as his scathing last sentence indicates: "This Mahomet, whether he was the son of Bajazet, or else of Calepine, converted to himself also the kingdom, or tyranny rather, of the murdering Turks" (30). While Knolles may be critical of the Ottomans, he takes them and their history seriously.

On many occasions, Knolles adopts a Turkish account that casts the Turks in a good light. He comments on two corrupt judges during Murad's reign:

> These two great men, Cairadin Bassa and Cara Rustemes . . . , two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkish histories report) the first that corrupted the Turkish court with covetousness and bribery, and are therefore of them even yet much blamed" (192)

This might seem an example of using the Turks' histories against them, since the behavior of the two judges stains the Turks' reputation for justice. On the other hand, in admitting that their judges were not all unspotted, their histories earn points for candor and truthfulness, and by alluding to the blame that the populace attaches to the offenders "even yet," that is, to this day, Knolles restores the reputation previously called into question.

Knolles' life of Murad I views quite favorably the sultan who consolidated Ottoman ascendancy over the old (Seljuk) Turkish nobility and who first conquered lands west of the Bosphorus. Though Knolles describes the sultan's religious zeal as "superstition" and asserts that he could "dissemble deeply," he also grants that he was:

> a man of great courage, in all his attempts fortunate. . . . [H]is kingdom in Asia he greatly enlarged by the sword, marriage, and purchase, and using the discord and cowardice of the Grecian princes to his profit subdued a great part of Thracia. . . . He was liberal, and withal severe, of his subjects both beloved and feared. (201)

A major episode in all versions of Murad's life was the rebellion of Aladin, King of Caramania, whose marriage to the sultan's daughter had allowed him to rule in his own kingdom as Murad's vassal. Knolles indirectly quotes Murad's view of Aladin's rebellion, namely that Aladin had "contrary to his faith before given . . . invaded his dominions while he [Murad] was busied in most godly wars (as he termed it) against the misbelieving Christians" (194). Although Knolles qualifies the sultan's view with a dialogic aside—" (as he termed it)"—he grants him his Muslim perspective (wars against Christians are "most godly"). His entire account is dialogically sensitive to the power of language. Murad rejects Aladin's belated offer of peace by having his envoy repeat the rebel's own disparaging words: "Whereas he [Aladin] in disgrace had called me a herdsmen or shepherd (said he) if he be not such a one himself . . . let him meet me in

the field, and there try his valor" (194). In this case, the sultan prevails, so his words to Aladin do not ironically foreshadow his own defeat.

After Murad wins the initial battles decisively, Aladin again sues for peace by sending his wife to plead on his behalf. Knolles reports the sultan's merciful response in a favorable light. Since Murad "entirely loved" his daughter, he granted not only her husband's life "(which in short time was like to have been in his power to have spilt) but also his kingdom, which he . . . might by law of arms have of right detained" (196). Further, Knolles remarks, Murad not only pardoned the rebel and restored his kingdom, but also bestowed upon him "many other great gifts, contrary to his evil desert" (196). In giving this version of the events, Knolles challenges "the Latin histories," which claim that the Caramanian war pitted a rapacious Murad against his own grandfather. However, as Knolles comments, this "agreeth not with the Turkish histories" (196), whose account he follows here. In this episode, Knolles' overt moral commentary and his dialogic, parenthetical asides, so often used for anti-Ottoman sentiments, are all used in Murad's favor.

Direct quotation also drives home the point of another mostly positive episode. Knolles cites a conversation between the sons of Othman, in which they amicably agree that Orchan should inherit the empire, and the younger brother (another Aladin) promises to support and honor the firstborn. The incident begins the *Life of Orchanes* and follows the passage in the *Annales* closely. The virtuous Aladin is quoted indirectly:

> Aladin answered, that it was most requisite first to establish a king in their father's kingdom; which like a good shepherd might govern and defend his subjects, rule and maintain his men of war, providing all things meet for defense of his kingdom (179).

This description of royal duties might have been quoted from Erasmus or other Christian writer. Aladin states further that the kingdom belongs to his brother "of right":

> [F]or mine own part (said Aladin) I claim no interest therein, you being my elder brother and so unto me in stead of a father, by whom also you have been these two years, as it were, already put in possession of the kingdom, all things being committed to your government during the time of his late sickness. (179)[30]

A mild then versus now qualification is found in Lewenklaw's version of the conversation. Following a bracketed comment from the translator

on another matter, it reads (with no brackets) that "in that time the brothers helped each other cordially and had respect and affection of one for the other" and that "before the time of Bayazid Chan [Bayazid I] the brothers never killed each other" (7).[31] The absence of brackets around these sentences implies that they are found in the Turkish original, which might be the case. Sadeddin is looking back to the early 1300s from the late 1500s, and, as we might infer from Çelebi's description of Mehmed II (quoted at the end of chapter 4), the Turks themselves had mixed feelings about the "law of succession" and the elimination of the new sultan's brothers.[32] However, the absence of brackets may be a typographical error, since de Mézeray's 1662 translation of the annals also contains these two sentences, but the latter is placed in the margin as a gloss, which is how de Mézeray handles material from Lewenklaw's endnotes.[33]

In his version of the incident, Knolles dialogically emphasizes both sides of the then-now comparison. He adds a positive comment on the brothers' mutual cooperation not found in Lewenklaw: "This modesty of Aladin was greatly commended of all the ancient counselors; by means whereof, the kingdom in all peaceable manner descended to Orchanes" (179). He praises the brothers both in his own voice ("this modesty") and indirectly in reporting the praise of the princes' counselors. Knolles' account is thus more admiring than that in the *Annales* themselves. However, in a phrase with no counterpart in the Latin, Knolles turns the episode to the discredit of contemporary Turks. "Some Latin historiographers" he writes, report

> that Orchanes the youngest obtained the kingdom by murthering of his other brethren. A practice of late much used among the Turkish princes . . . where before they used all brotherly love to one other, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turks' own chronicles affirm. (179)

The Turks' former virtue is not to be seen in their current dynastic practices. The then versus now comparison thus enables Knolles both to admire the (long dead) inaugurators of Ottoman greatness and to criticize their successors. Similarly, in describing the burial of Murad I, Knolles inserts a small detail, which emphasizes his modesty: "upon his tomb lieth his soldier's cloak, with a little Turkish tulipant [turban], much differing from those great turbans which the Turks now wear" (201). As in the case of the virtuous brothers, the modesty of Murad I implicitly criticizes the later sultans. The topos may explain why Knolles' portraits of the earlier sultans, whether based on the

Turkish chronicles or not, are generally more favorable than those of later ones. For example, Knolles' summary of the character of Osman, or Othman, the founder of the dynasty, though not entirely admiring comes very close to being so:

> He was wise, politic, valiant, and fortunate, but full of dissimulation and ambitious above measure; not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute; what he took in hand, he commonly brought to good effect: to all men he was bountiful and liberal, but especially to his men of war, and the poor, whom he would many times feed and clothe with his own hands. Of a poor lordship, he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of the lesser Asia, and [he] is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks great kingdom and empire. (177)

Of Othman's accomplishments, Knolles highlights not only his founding of a great empire but his faithful observance of the pious duties of a Muslim leader. Presumably, his charity toward the poor would have (or should have) counted even more heavily with Knolles than his military prowess, since the vanity of earthly glory is Knolles' refrain throughout the work.

In some instances, however, Knolles clearly uses Turkish sources to underscore the Ottomans' bad behavior, essentially seeking to condemn them through their own histories. He describes in detail Murad I's conquest of several cities in Thrace. Initially, Knolles reports that some towns yielded and others were conquered after fierce resistance. However, he then pauses:

> The taking of these strong cities in Thracia, especially of Didymotichum and Hadrianople, is (by some of the Turks' own histories) otherwise reported: which because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the subtle dealings of the Turks, and of themselves also received, I have thought good to set down as their own historiographers report the same. (189–90)

He then cites at length the very different account of the Turkish chronicles, which highlights cleverness and deceit, rather than force of arms. During a period of peace, the governor of Didymotichum decides to fortify his city against the Turks and seeks out masons, carpenters, and other workmen. Murad, hearing of his plans, "secretly caused two hundred good and lusty workmen" to offer their services, although some of the "wiser . . . citizens . . . wished the governor to beware of those Asian workmen" (190). After some time passes, according to their plan, the Turks inside the city attack the warders (while the townspeople are at

dinner) and admit the rest of Murad's army, which easily takes the town. When the Christians complain of his "foul dealing and breach of league, as yet in force," Murad blames "the unruliness of his captains" and "to give the better color that it was done without his privity, he had feigned himself sick all the while these things were in doing" (190). When the Christians ask him to restore the cities "so wrongfully taken," he refuses, "saying, that it was against the law of his great prophet Mohamet, to deliver again unto the Christians, any town or city where in the Mohametan religion had once been openly taught" (190). To capture Hadrianople, Murad repeats the stratagem with a minor variation that cleverly exploits the Christian stereotype of the sultan as a "tyrant":

> [H]e caused [Gazi]-Ilbeg . . . to fly to Hadrianople, pretending himself to have been hardly used by the tyrant his master. . . . [W]ith other such dissembling fugitives, . . . he oftentimes issued out of the city and valiantly skirmished with the Turks; which so greatly pleased the governor of Hadrianople, that [Gazi-Ilbeg] thereby grew into his great favour. (190–191)

With the help of these confederates, Murad captures this city as well, which becomes the Turkish capital until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

In his preface, Knolles invites the reader, when presented with alternate accounts, to choose "that which may seem . . . the most true" (sig. [A6v]), and, here too, he leaves it to the reader whether "these great cities in Thracia [were] thus taken, or otherwise as aforesaid" (191). However, his highly narrativized account of the taking of Didymotichum and Hadrianople might have seemed more persuasive and therefore "more true" to many an early modern reader. In adapting the Ottoman version of these events, Knolles' main theme is the Turks' "subtle dealings" (though one also notes the suspicion of "foreign workers," an issue that had some currency in London at the time Knolles was writing). He emphasizes the Turks' "dissembling" and their resort to unconvincing religious justifications for their actions, but as the story unfolds, the Turks' loyalty, their daring, and their ability to coordinate complicated plots are inescapable, and these qualities may have engaged and impressed readers, even as Knolles strove to condemn the wicked ways of the Turks.

## Conclusion

In *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, Knolles assimilated the eastern (and especially the Turkish) sources to the master narrative of east versus

west and Christian versus Muslim. His strenuous commentary notwithstanding, Knolles' history of the Turks is more complex and evenhanded than many of his predecessors'. Even when he disagrees with the *Annales*, he cites them to acknowledge alternative accounts. Knolles believes that the Turks violate the laws of "Nations and Nature" in breaking leagues of peace and murdering each other, "all which most execrable and inhuman murders they cover with the pretended safety of their state" (sig. [A5r]). But he also grants the Turks their valor, their military excellence, and the "order" (in several senses) of their state. Like Thomas Artus, he highlights their maintenance of

> two strongest sinews of every well governed commonweal, reward propounded to the good, and punishment threatened unto the offender; where the prize is for virtue and valor set up, and the way laid for every common person, be he never so meanly born, to aspire unto the greatest honors and preferments. (sig. [A5r])

Although his *Life of Baiazet* absorbs the Christianizing Timūr-mania of du Bec and emphasizes Bayazid's pride, it also includes many intriguing episodes from the *Annales* that present a more rounded portrait of the sultan. Although less sympathetic than the imaginative portrait in Marlowe's *1 Tamburlaine*, Knolles provides the most detailed and complex version of the sultan's life up to his fateful encounter with Timūr. And, as Knolles himself might have said, in incorporating the motif of Bayazid's being hoist with his own petard, he was only following traditions accepted and circulated by eastern historians and the Turks themselves. Comparing Knolles' version with the accounts in the eastern sources and in Çelebi's *Book of Travels* allows us to examine the "crookedness" of these histories (to borrow Hans Kellner's term) and to glimpse "the 'who' or the 'what' that is crooking them."[34]

In Barbour's view, Knolles' *Historie* "demonstrates two interlocking functions of Jacobean proto-Orientalism: to alarm and to reassure." The opening paragraphs, he notes, manifest the tension between these contradictory motives, as Knolles' "periodic sentences, like weighty mobiles, lift incompatible claims into restless balance."[35] Barbour concludes that, although Knolles sporadically indulged "a nuanced view of Asian and European peoples as emulous inhabitants of a single comprehensive world," he ultimately "proposes a fundamental enmity between Islam and Christendom."[36] While I would agree with Barbour that Knolles' *commentary* embraces a "proto-orientalist" perspective, there is another sense in which his work is contradictory.

The thirteen central books often contradict the generalizations of his opening and closing treatises. He is more willing than one might expect to include episodes and details from the Turks' chronicles that reflect positively on individual sultans and challenge a western Christian's perspective on the world. Having the opportunity to speak for oneself does not always work in the sultan's favor (as in the case of Bayazid in Knolles' *Life*), but it often does. The sultans emerge from his work as individuals whose careers had complex trajectories and contradictory elements. They are valiant as well as cunning, magnanimous as well as ruthless, sincere as well as hypocritical, shrewd as well as gullible. They operate in a court thick with intrigue. In short, the Ottomans resemble other imperial houses with whom educated English people were familiar, from the Macedonian, to the Roman, to the Byzantine, to the dynastic struggles recorded in Hall and Holinshed. The lives of the sultans are not so different from those of King Lear, or Macbeth, or the Yorkist and Lancastrian kings of England. Indeed, Knolles' insistent commentary may testify to his anxiety about how readers might respond to his material. Despite his best efforts, the vivid narratives that he drew from "the Turks' own histories" (and elsewhere) may have communicated to his readers themes that the Turks would have relished.

As in the case with Marlowe's construction of Bayazid, however, early modern dramatists went further. As we shall see in the next chapter, in dramatic versions of the story of Suleyman and Mustapha, the dramatists overtly mitigate the sultan's culpability, offering much more positive and sympathetic representations than those in their sources. Indeed, in some plays, not only dialogue but other elements of the rhetoric of alterity (asides, generalizations, and epithets) work on behalf of rather than against the sultan.

# Chapter 6

# Horrible Acts and Wicked Offenses: Suleyman and Mustapha in Narrative and Drama

For late sixteenth-century western Christians, the *locus classicus* of the raging Turk might have been Suleyman the Magnificent's execution of his son Mustapha in 1553 (figure 6.1). There are other contenders for the title, of course, notably Selim I and his bloody path to the throne. Selim, as we have seen, figured prominently in western histories, and he was featured in two sensational dramas: *1 Selimus* (Q 1594), a play for the public stage discussed briefly in chapter 3, and *The Raging Turke*, a university play (ca. 1617, Q 1631), in which the titular raging Turk is (unhistorically) Selim's father, Bayazid II, not Selim himself.[1] Since Selim has recently received a measure of critical attention, I propose to examine representations of Suleyman and Mustapha.[2] As the incident that marred the reputation of "the greatest of the Ottoman sultans," the execution of Mustapha had a more complicated appeal than the ruthlessness of Selim. Moreover, while Selim's campaigns put him largely in conflict with eastern nations (notably Egypt), after his death, his son Suleyman turned the Ottoman armies westward again. So, despite his positive reputation in the west, Suleyman in fact represented a more serious threat to Christendom than did his father.

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq was the imperial ambassador to the Porte from 1554 to 1562. Arriving in the capitol just after the death

**Figure 6.1** Portrait of Suleyman the Magnificent from Richard Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). By permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University.

of Mustapha, he described Suleyman in the first of his "Turkish letters":

> He was an ancient man, his countenance and the mean of his body was very majestic, well becoming the dignity which he bore. He was frugal and temperate even from his youth, though he might have taken a greater liberty to himself by the rule of their own religion. In his younger days, he was not given to wine nor to masculine venery, which the Turks much delight in, so that his very enemies could object nothing against him on those accounts.[3]

Historians writing before Mustapha's death acknowledged Suleyman's greatness, while often portraying him as an exception to the rule, as Busbecq does above. Giovio asserts that he was "endued with very man excellent virtues, and is far from those two notable and singular vices, avarice and cruelty, with which his ancestors . . . were sore infected."[4] Many decades later, Knolles finds him "of nature ambitious and bountiful, more faithful to his word and promise that were for the most part the Mahometan Kings, his progenitors."[5] In executing Mustapha, however, Suleyman seemed to revert from "magnificence" to the alleged norm of Ottoman cruelty, thus, doubly reinforcing the stereotype. Since the incident was relatively recent, in living memory of some readers in the 1580s and 1590s, it was prominent in western histories, and it also inspired two closet dramas, one in Latin, *Solymannidae tragoedia* (ms ca. 1582), and one in English by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, *Mustapha* (ca. 1596, Q 1609, F 1633).

Western historical and dramatic versions of the story simultaneously emphasize and extenuate Suleyman's culpability in the affair, just as they simultaneously lament and celebrate Mustapha's demise. The death of Mustapha was, by all accounts, engineered by Suleyman's favorite wife Khourrem (called "Rossa" or "Roxolana" because of her Russian or Circassian origins), who conspired with the vizier Rustan to secure the succession for her own son and thus establish herself as the powerful *valide sultan* or mother of the sultan.[6] In this case, the plotter of "Oriental intrigue" turns out to be a woman, and not one who is of the "Orient" as typically defined. However, although both narrative and dramatic treatments exhibit these contradictions, William Painter's retelling of the story in his collection of *novelle* heightens the negative ideological elements of the sources, while the closet dramatists mitigate the sultan's role. Further, Greville applies the "lessons" of the story, as he construed them, not just to the Ottoman court but to all political arenas and nations, including his own.

## NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS

The "Turkish Letters" of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Porte, are unique in their highly secular analysis of Ottoman society. Written to his friend Nicholas Michault, the first letter (*Itineraria Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, 1555) was printed in 1581; all four were published in Paris in 1589 and in many subsequent editions on the Continent (notably the Elzevir edition of 1633). The letters were first translated into English in 1694, and the standard modern translation of Edward Seymour Forster has recently seen two new editions.[7] Busbecq viewed his letters as "word of mouth in familiar conference amongst friends": for published writings "circumspection and care must be used, but not when I write to you and a few priv[at]e friends" (264). After a particularly candid comparison of the Turkish system of preferment based on merit and the British reliance on birth and rank, he instructed his correspondents: "pray keep [it] to your self, for other men may not be able to bear my freedom herein" (94–95).[8]

Busbecq's version of the death of Mustapha is ironic, realistic, and plausible. He reports that Roxolana manipulated Suleyman into marrying her. (After Timūr's humiliation of Bayazid's favorite wife, to avoid a like event, most sultans elected not to marry at all.) Having gained the status of wife, Roxolana sought to secure the succession for her son, rather than his half-brother Mustapha, the current favorite. In Busbecq's view, her alliance with Rustan (the vizier) is a routine example of dynastic politics, not the action of a demonic woman. Rustan was married to Roxolana's daughter by the sultan, he points out, so "they drew both in one yoke [for] their interests . . . were conjoined" (45). Busbecq had some firsthand knowledge of the principals. He had several audiences with Suleyman and the opportunity to observe him on other occasions. Rustan, though out of favor as a result of this affair when Busbecq arrived, was one of the first officials he visited in Constantinople (43), and they had many interactions over the years.

Busbecq views all the parties including Mustapha with a degree of skepticism.[9] He distributes the blame rather evenly and takes into account the political dynamic between the sultan, the Janissaries, and the people. A sample of his realistic (even cynical) insight can be seen in his parenthetical remark regarding the Janissaries' grief at Mustapha's death and Rustan's role in calming them. The soldiers "lamented and pitied" Mustapha's fate:

> [A]ll that day was a fasting-day to them . . . ; yea, some of them continued their abstinence for many days after. In short there was such

> a face of mourning over the whole army, . . . that Solyman in policy, and in a seeming compliance with the sentiments of his people, deprived Rustan of his office (it was thought by his own consent) and banished him as a private person to Constantinople. (51–52)

Busbecq astutely suggests that the public demonizing of Roxolana and Rustan was a conscious strategy (perhaps even Rustan's own) to divert blame from Suleyman and to stabilize the political situation. Suleyman appointed "Achmet Bassa, a man of more courage than conduct [judgment]," to succeed Rustan:

> Upon this alteration, the public grief was somewhat abated and the soldiers' rage pacified. For the commonalty was made to believe (as you know the vulgar are credulous enough) that Solyman at last had found out the wickedness of Rustan and the enchantments of his wife; and that now he repented, though it were late . . . of his cruelty to Mustapha, and thereupon had banished Rustan . . . and that he would not spare his wife neither, as soon as he returned to Constantinople. (52)

Thus, the sultan managed to keep his reputation among his own people, who charged him only with "over-indulgence to his wife" in the affair; Busbecq explains that the "crime was vulgarly imputed to that ascendant she had over him, by reason of her enchantments and amatory potions" (101). While Busbecq separates himself from the vulgar opinion, he does not sensationalize the story. He alludes to the death of Mustapha's half-brother, the intended beneficiary of Roxolana's scheme in other versions, but he makes no mention of his alleged suicide, reporting only that the frail "crook-backed" Giangir died later, out of fear lest he suffer a fate similar to Mustapha's (121).

Briefly, Busbecq sees the story in terms of competing political interests and a delicate balance of power (vis à vis the Janissaries) to be managed by all the parties. His tone is that of an experienced diplomat accustomed to the darker side of imperial politics. Although worldly irony pervades his account, only the Janissaries are described with an epithet—and a mild one at that ("vulgar"). His view of the principals and their motives likewise eschews sensational language and ethnic generalizations. There is little demonizing of Roxolana and consequently little feminizing of Suleyman as weak and easily manipulated. Roxolana's alleged use of sorcery is framed as a fantasy of the uneducated, which Suleyman uses to his advantage. In his version, Roxolana and Rustan both survive their disgrace to wield power another day. Suleyman in fact took no action against Khourrem, and Rustan was later reinstated as vizier, as Busbecq reports.

In his brief account, Busbecq uses little dialogue. Aside from directly quoting the advice of a mufti consulted by Suleyman (49) and the content of one of Rustan's false reports of Mustapha's activities, the bulk of the reported dialogue is devoted to the collective voice of the Janissaries. Busbecq indirectly and dialogically quotes their lamentations after Mustapha's death in such a way as simultaneously to endorse their sincerity and to expose the futility of their complaints:

> [T]hey silently departed with blubbered eyes and sad hearts to their tents, where they both lamented and pitied the woeful fate of . . . Mustapha, sometimes inveighing against the madness and rage of his old doting father, at other times exclaiming at the fraud and cruelty of his stepmother, and anon cursing the wickedness of Rustan, with direful imprecations for extinguishing so great a light of the Ottoman family. (51)

As exemplified in this passage, Busbecq presents each side's viewpoint ironically and dialogically, while himself remaining above the fray.

Although Busbecq's letters probably circulated in manuscript, the first published account of the incident was that of Nicolas à Moffan, *Soltani Solymanni Turcorum imperatoris horrendum facinus* (The Horrible act of Sultan Solyman emperor of the Turks, Basle, 1555). À Moffan's work appears to have found an eager audience. In 1556, it appeared in French and German, and a second Latin edition was published in Paris that same year. It was translated into English by Hugh Goughe as the third work in his *Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno* (ca. 1569–1570).[10] Little is known of Goughe, whose name does not appear in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* À Moffan's text was also adapted by William Painter, a well-known and prolific writer of *novelle*, in the second volume of *The Palace of Pleasure* (1567).[11] A Moffan was also Knolles' main source for his version of the story.[12] According to Painter, à Moffan was a Burgundian who was wounded and taken prisoner by the Turks in 1552 "in Hercules [i.e., Charles V's] wars" (201). He learned from his fellow prisoners about the "laws, religion, [and] warlike affairs" of the Turks "and also of . . . this horrible fact [deed] done by Solyman" (201–02). Once ransomed, à Moffan took it upon himself "to make manifest by writing unto the world so mischievous a deed" (sig. Iv$^{r}$). Although Busbecq's Latin letters are cited by Knolles and others, Goughe's translation of à Moffan's account was naturally accessible to a wider readership. Where Busbecq's account was candid and realistic, à Moffan's takes every opportunity to sensationalize the story and to

depict the parties as angels or devils. This is not surprising, given his personal experience and his sources (fellow prisoners of the Turks), but in his text, epithets, generalizations, and dialogue are all harnessed to denigrate the principals.

À Moffan's Mustapha is an ideal prince: a "young man of noble courage and passing wit, no less excelling in his courageous heart, than in strength . . . and for his grave wisdom and upright justice marvelously favoured of the people" (sig. Ki$^{r}$); "in the opinion and judgment of all men," he had been sent "by some heavenly providence . . . unto their country" (sig. [Iv$^{v}$]). It appears that the more virtuous the victim, the more heinous the crime. The villains of the piece include Suleyman's wife (here known as Rosa) and the vizier (Rustanus). Pejorative epithets abound, especially for Rosa. She is vilified as "the cursed woman" (sig. [Kiii$^{v}$]), the "unnatural stepmother," and the "adulterous harlot" (sig. Kiv$^{r}$). She initially attempts to remove Mustapha herself by sending him a poisoned robe (sig. Kiv$^{r}$). This echo of the Hercules myth contrasts her deliberately murderous gift with Dianeira's unwitting presentation of the shirt tainted with the centaur's blood: whereas Dianeira is a pawn in another's plot, Rosa is the plotter.

À Moffan depicts Suleyman as uxorious and therefore weak: he was "drowned, passing all moderation, in an unbridled desire and lust of Rosa" (sig. [Ivii$^{r}$]–[Ivii$^{v}$]). Rosa expertly manipulates him, while Rustanus fills his ear with Mustapha's alleged ambition. Suleyman initially rejects the allegations as improbable, but gradually (after several years) his resistance weakens, and he consents to move covertly against his son. The sultan proves to be lacking in the deceit that his enemies exercise so effectively. His "detestable and deadly hatred" for Mustapha becomes apparent to the bashas and "other men of greater dignity about him," and they warn the prince (sig. [Kviii$^{r}$]). But Mustapha, after consulting his mufti or religious advisor about the relative merits of the "empire of the whole world" and "a blessed life" (sig. [Kviii$^{v}$]), chooses obedience at any cost. His decision is entirely idealistic and pious, with no hint of the pragmatism or ambiguity captured in Busbecq's account. Once Suleyman succumbs to the plot, à Moffan denounces him with epithets and with anti-Turkish generalizations: he is an "uncourteous and bloodshedding father, . . . in no point degenerating from the engrafted cruelty of his ancestours" (sig. [Kvii$^{v}$]); a "blood thirsting" and "wicked" father (sig. [Li$^{v}$]); and a "beastly and unnatural manquellour [man-killer]" (sig. Lv$^{r}$). À Moffan's suggestions of all but innate ("engrafted") and subhuman ("beastly") violence are a far cry from Busbecq's sophisticated political analysis.

Suleyman is directly quoted at the climax of the story, as he observes Mustapha's execution from a hidden vantage point. When the eunuchs seem too long about their work, he complains "with a thundering cruel voice":

> What not yet at length will you execute my commandments? And kill this traitor which by the space of ten years hath not suffered me to take one quiet night's rest [?] (sig. [Lv$^{r}$])

The quotation testifies to the depth of the sultan's deception (he claims to have feared Mustapha's treason for ten years) and to his gullibly (Mustapha is no traitor in à Moffan's version), but it also shows he is not hot-headed or quick to choose violence. On the other hand, his impatience with the eunuchs' performance of his command is unseemly, and his position (observing the act while hidden from his son's view) portrays him as cold and cowardly. But aside from the epithet "cruel," the sultan's words and the deed receive no further comment from à Moffan. Rather, the ultimate condemnation of the sultan is put in the mouth of Giangir, on whose behalf the plot was laid. On learning of Mustapha's death, the horrified and grief-stricken prince "spake in this manner":

> Out upon thee, O detestable and wicked dog: Traitor, I will not name thee father . . . . Could there any such thing take place, in that fierce ungodly and mischievous mind of thine, as to murder so noble, warlike . . . a son . . . whose like the house of Ottomanno had never until this day, neither shall in time to come. (sig. [Lvi$^{r}$])

After lamenting further, Giangir nobly kills himself out of grief and to avoid benefiting from the crime.

Paradoxically, à Moffan never describes Suleyman's actions in terms of rage or raging; rather, his actions inspire righteous rage in others, notably Giangir (above) and the Janissaries loyal to Mustapha. Although they are rebellious, the Janissaries are implicitly commended and praised: "by reason of their tears and weepings, as they were thus in a raging and furious mind, [they] came violently rushing . . . into the king's tent" to demand justice (sig. Lviii$^{r}$). Challenged by the sultan (who pulls himself together for an effectively indignant speech, also quoted directly), the Janissaries admit that they owe him all loyalty and obedience. But, they remind him, he is the emperor

> whom many years since they had elected, but in that they had by their courageous mankinds [manliness] conquered him so large an Empire,

> and defended the same, for this occasion to be done, because he should reign uprightly, minister justice, and not without regard to lay his hands on every just person and wickedly to imbrue himself in the blood of innocents. (sig. [Lviii$^{v}$]–Mi$^{r}$)

Like Knolles' use of the Turks' own chronicles, à Moffan quotes these (virtuous) Turkish characters against the sultan. After this parley, the sultan seems "to repent him of that cruel, detestable, and beastly killing" and promises to bring the prince's victimizers to justice, which he does. Neither a raging tyrant to be feared (by the west) nor a tragic Herculean hero, Suleyman in this account is presented as weak and vulnerable, faced down by the Janissaries, and only half repentant when persuaded (apparently) that his "wicked act" was undeserved. In killing the virtuous Mustapha, he destroys the best hope of the empire and prompts the suicide of his other putative heir. He most resembles Herod, duped by the Magi and ineffectually lashing out, although his actions, unlike Herod's, harm his own royal house rather than other "Innocents" supposedly under his protection. The explicitly "raging" Turks (Mustapha, Achmet, Giangir, and others) are models of integrity and righteous indignation.

In perhaps his most interesting dialogical gesture, à Moffan quotes (in Turkish) a proverb that conveys how the tragedy came to be viewed by the Turks themselves: "*Gietti Soltan Mustapha*" (which Knolles later translates as "Sultan *Mustapha* is dead" [765]) became a catch phrase "whereby [the Turks] would signify that of their first purposed intent their labour to be lost, or in vain" (sig. Miii$^{r}$). Citing the phrase in Turkish, à Moffan reminds us of his firsthand experience among the Turks, but he also establishes that observers east *and* west viewed the death of Mustapha as tragic. For the Turks it became a symbol of national loss and frustration, while for western Europeans (however much they might sympathize with the noble prince) it was an unexpected blessing. As à Moffan writes (modifying somewhat his earlier portrait of Mustapha as an ideal prince), Christians should give thanks that Mustapha, with his "warlike prowess and prompt mind to shed Christian blood," was never permitted to ascend to the emperor's seat (sig. [Mii$^{v}$]).

William Painter's version of the tale in *The Palace of Pleasure* follows à Moffan closely, but unlike Goughe, he provides prefatory remarks that condemn not only the acts of individuals but also the Turks in general. He reports that he translated the story to honor Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Portes, and "to renew the ancient detestation, which we have, and our progenitors had, against

that horrible termagant and persecutor of Christians" (200). He thus posits a centuries-long, ingrained conflict between the English and the Turks. His epithets include both terms of moral condemnation (such as "wicked" and "cruel") and bestial or horticultural terms that imply innate, genetic traits. He alludes to "that Turkish brood" (203) and "the natural desire of avarice, wherewith the greedy appetites of the stock are endued" (202). He is fond of bestial similes: Suleyman in his "madness" is worse than a "fierce lioness":

> What beast, be he never so wode [mad], or savage, can suffer his younglings to take harm, much less to do them hurt himself? What fierce lioness can infest her own whelp, which with natural pains brought it into light? (200–01)

In his account, the sultan rages indeed; the "beastliness of [Suleyman's] fury . . . far exceeded beasts'," and he "so raged in his tyrannous life" that "he slew his own son" (201).

Painter's parenthetical comments and other generalizations likewise stress ingrained "national" traits, including sexual excess. He alludes to the Turks' "pleasures and libidinous appetites (wherein most vilely and filthily above any other nation they chiefly excel)," and he adds further sting to this aside with the ironic verb "excel" (205). Their failings are ingrained and "natural" to them: Suleyman is a "cruel father (who nothing degenerated from the natural tyranny of his ancestors)" (209). This parenthetical comment has its origin in à Moffan's text (the "uncourteous and bloodshedding father . . . in no point degenerating from the engrafted cruelty of his ancestours," sig. [Kvii$^{v}$]). However, Painter's euphuistic, alliterative prose intensifies these elements as he elaborates upon his source: "the libidinous lusts of this lecherous infidel so surmounted the bounds of reason, as the fire thereof consumed his own flesh" (201). Even Mustapha, praised by à Moffan as the paragon of princes, is demeaned by Painter's animal imagery: "this young whelp was no less a shedder of Christian blood" than his father, and was "no doubt a very froward [wayward] imp" (201).[13]

Eager to provide background information on the Ottomans, Painter anticipates the topos of the "empire in decline" common in seventeenth-century travel narratives. In summarizing the "order" and offices of the Ottoman court, he explains that the offices are not hereditary, but "are bestowed by turns," and "they which are most excellent in prowess of arms, and valiance, . . . are placed in the most fertile countries" (202). However, "the disposition . . . is now degenerated, for where in time past the same were bestowed upon the best

captains and soldiers, in these days, [they] are through favour and money, thoroughly corrupted" (202). Painter's handling of the narrative thus anticipates the tendency of later historians, such as Knolles, to narrativize their sources, setting events in a master narrative of east-west enmity and Ottoman decline, and providing ever more explicit and judgmental commentary. In adapting the climax of à Moffan's account for his *Generall Historie*, Knolles prefaces Suleyman's alleged words with additional commentary and a parenthetical elaboration on the sultan's "unnatural" cruelty. Mustapha pleads piteously for his life:

> All which the murderer (for no addition is sufficient to express his unnatural villainy) both heard and saw . . . but was so far from being moved with compassion, that thinking it long till he were dispatched, with a most terrible and cruel voice he rated the villains inured to blood, saying, Will you never dispatch that I bid you? (763)[14]

The parenthetical condemnation positions the reader as a confidant, in collusion with the narrator. In Painter, as in Knolles, the voice and sensibilities of the narrator play a large role, and the judgment desired of the reader is modeled at every opportunity.

## Suleyman and Mustapha in Closet Drama

The story of Suleyman and Mustapha is handled more sympathetically in two sixteenth-century Senecan closet dramas. The earlier of the two, the first extant play based on Ottoman history, is an anonymous Latin manuscript, *Solymannidae tragoedia* (ca. 1582); the later is Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (ca. 1596, Q 1609 and F 1633). In many ways, these works stay close to their sources not only in the details of the story but also in the prominence of commentary. Indeed, like the sources, they represent the climactic event, the execution, in a *narratio:* in keeping with neo-classical decorum, the violence happens offstage and is reported by another character, who quotes the principals and comments on the action. Unlike à Moffan, Painter, and Knolles, however, the dramatists mitigate rather than exacerbate the sultan's guilt. The commentary of the character-narrators enhances tragic feeling rather than anti-Ottoman stereotypes. Other internal commentary, such as that in the choruses and prologues considers "universal" themes of statecraft and politics and thus expands the moral focus to include British Christians as well as the Turks.

*Solymannidae tragoedia* appeared soon after the publication of Busbecq's first Turkish letter in 1581, and the anonymous Latin playwright may have been inspired to address the subject by the publication of Busbecq's account.[15] More so than à Moffan, the anonymous Latin playwright shifts the blame from Solyman to his wife (known here as Rhode). Senecan in form, the play opens with a chorus spoken by the ghost of Suleyman's father, Selim I, who laments the decay of his house because of the *Queen's* crime "against her stepchildren."[16] When her son vacillates, unwilling to gain the crown via criminal acts, Rhode says she will handle the matter, much as Lady Macbeth takes the lead when Macbeth's nerve fails. As part of their conspiracy against Mustapha, she and her confederate (Roxanes in this version) poison a loyal courtier who defends the prince. One chorus laments the evils created by false counselors and another the faithlessness of women.[17] Most striking, in this play the sultan's guilt is further mitigated when he changes his mind and countermands the order to strangle Mustapha; however, it is too late. As in à Moffan, the other male characters are loyal and true, including various counselors and Rhode's son, who kills himself to avoid benefiting from the execution of his half-brother. In making Rhode the main villain of the piece, the playwright introduces elements that significantly reduce Suleyman's culpability.[18]

Of greater interest and influence than the anonymous Latin tragedy is Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* composed ca.1596 and published in quarto in 1609, and again (significantly revised) in Greville's collected works (F1633).[19] Greville relied on à Moffan (as translated by Goughe) and on Lewenklaw's Supplement to Sadeddin, from which he apparently took the characters' names.[20] Greville and Sir Philip Sidney were boyhood friends and served on several missions together; the two also entertained the "unconventional" Giordano Bruno when he visited England in 1584.[21] Greville was a member of the circle that coalesced around the Countess of Pembroke (Sidney's sister), and he shared their admiration for "French Seneca" and their interest in political philosophy and literary reform. Several members of this group, including Greville, William Alexander (the author of several plays based on Persian history), and Sidney himself, had political experience at the highest levels.[22] Greville was elected to Parliament five times and served Elizabeth and James in several capacities, including that of Chancellor of the Exchequer (1614–1621). For both Alexander and Greville, plays based on eastern history were a way of considering domestic political concerns, while reducing the risk of offense or censorship.

In *Mustapha*, Greville presents the episode of Suleyman and Mustapha in a more philosophical vein than either *Solymannidae*

*tragoedia* or the sources. As Geoffrey Bullough has argued, Greville

> treats the story, not as the personal tragedy of Mustapha, Solyman, and Rossa, but as a political and moral conflict in which the motives of the major figures are complicated and even the minor personages have some importance . . . .[I]t is a study in statecraft, in the political perplexities of rulers and subjects.[23]

Greville's theme is that all earthly power seeks absolutism, and that law and religion are inevitably compromised when the servants of justice and of God become servants of the prince. (Note that these ideas are not so far from those expressed by Selim in *1 Selimus.*) This theme is explored in the soliloquies of individual characters, in dramatic debates between the sultan and his advisors, and in five Senecan-style choruses. The choruses, spoken by bashas, "priests," converts to Islam, and Tartars (non-Christians all), explore from many angles the role of religion in politics and the paradoxes of faith and political behavior, in both Christian and Islamic societies. However, in contrast to English historians, whose commentary increasingly criticized the Turks, Greville analyzes the issues that interested him with a remarkable cultural evenhandedness.

The soliloquies, asides, and dramatic debates establish clearly that Suleyman's actions under his wife's influence are counter to the norms of justice in the Turkish (or indeed in any) court. The sultan's deeds are the exception, not the rule. The virtuous basha Achmat agonizes over whether to oppose the sultan's decision: "Who utters this, is to his prince a traitor;/Who keeps this, guilty is: his life is ruth" (2.1.52–53).[24] Ultimately, he chooses to speak out, reasoning: "I am first nature's subject, then my prince's" (2.1.75). He attempts to persuade Suleyman that the allegations against Mustapha are unproven and therefore not actionable:

> *Achmat*. The form of proof precedes the form of death;
> Kings honors and their safeties live in both:
> Against these to give counsel I am loth.
> *Soliman*. Thought is with God an act: kings cannot see
> Th' intents of mischief but with jealousy.
> *Achmat*. In what protection then lives innocence? (2.2.68–73)

Achmat argues, correctly, that Rossa and her supporters' allegations are pure factional intrigue meant to frighten Suleyman:

> *Achmat*. Tyrants they are that punish out of fear,
> States wiser than the truth decline, and wear.

> *Soliman*. Thou art but one. The rest, in whom I trust,
> Discern [Mustapha's] fault, and urge me to be just.
> *Achmat*. Though faction's strength be great, her sleight is more;
> Her plot, and instruments inlaid with art:
> Less care hath truth than hath the evil part. (2.2.112–18)

He is only temporarily successful, however, delaying but not preventing Suleyman's decision to order the death of his son.

Those who cooperate with the plot against Mustapha despite believing him innocent recognize their corruption in soliloquies and asides. The Beglerby, one of Rossa's confederates, comments on his own and Suleyman's self-destructive behavior:

> He, with himself, is wrought to spoil his own;
> I, with myself, am made the instrument
> That courts should have no great hearts innocent. (4.4.11–13)

Heli, the priest charged with drawing Mustapha to court where he will be betrayed, ultimately repents his "hypocrisy" (4.4.52) and warns the Prince of the plot, saying: "I have offended nature, God, and thee;/To each a sin, to all impiety" (4.4.71–72).

The pious Mustapha, not wishing to undermine the political order, obeys his father even at the price of death:

> Shall I a son and subject seem to dare,
> For any selfness, to set realms on fire
> Which golden title to rebellions are? . . .
> Shall we, to languish in this brittle jail,
> Seek, by ill deeds, to shun ill destiny?
> And so for toys, lose immortality? (4.4.125–38)

When Mustapha's murder is accomplished, his half-brother Zanger kills himself out of grief, and Achmat the good counselor proclaims:

> Nature is ruined, humanity fall'n assunder,
> Our Alcoran prophaned, empire defaced,
> Ruin is broken loose, truth dead, hope banished. (5.2.9–11)

The chief psychomachia of the play, of course, is that of Suleyman himself, as he is convinced to order the execution of his son. Far from rash or naturally given to cruelty, he loves Mustapha and is initially skeptical of the charges against him. He is not an "unnatural" father; quite the reverse. Rossa complains that he is one of "those silly natures

apt to lovingness" (3.1.60). Rossa thus contradicts the allegation by some in the west that the law of succession snuffed out all "natural feeling" among the sultan, his brothers, and his potential heirs. Shrewd and articulate, Suleyman questions the motives and evidence of all who approach him, including Rosten (1.1.44–60) and the Beglerbly (1.1.98ff.) even while he fears being blinded by "kindness" and Mustapha's spotless "fame" (1.1.20). He is realistic, even cynical, about the art of politics in an absolute monarchy:

> Mercy and love! You phrases popular,
> Which undermine and limit princes' thrones,
> Go, seek the regions of equality,
> Greatness must keep those arts by which it grew,
> And ever what it wills, or fears, make true. (2.2.1–4)

In addition, as a king, he must be able to administer justice for the sake of the state, and not be guided exclusively by natural feeling:

> No, no: this father-language fits not kings,
> Whose public universal providence,
> Of things, not persons, always must have sense.
> With justice, I these misty doubts will clear.
> And he that breaks divine, and human law
> Shall no protection out of either draw. (2.2.38–43)

Suleyman resists for four acts before he succumbs to the intriguers' allegations and Rossa's "witchcrafts" (5.2.20). When his daughter, Camena, swears to her brother's innocence, he resolves to go to "church" to seek "counsel from above" (2.3.216 and 2.3.231). In act 4, he is still in doubt:

> The earth draws one way and the sky another.
> If God works thus, kings must look upward still
> And from those powers they know not chose a will.
> Or else believe themselves, their strength, occasion,
> Make wisdom conscience, and the world their sky. (4.1.38–42)

Ultimately he draws a distasteful but candid conclusion and accepts the name of "tyrant." Political "wisdom" and worldly expedience must be his "conscience" (i.e., better safe than sorry): "So have all tyrants done; and so must I" (4.21.43).

By contrast, Rossa has no scruples and no remorse. From the first, she is depicted as politically motivated. Claiming a woman's naiveté,

she attacks the sultan's faith in his son with an Iago-like pose of innocence and reluctance to think ill of Mustapha:

> Soliman, my Lord! The knowledge who was father
> To Mustapha made me (poor silly woman)
> Think worth in blood had natural succession:
> But now, I see, ambition's mixtures may
> The gold of nature's elements allay. (1.1.23–27)

She then artfully interprets Mustapha's "outward" or political actions. Their ancient rival, Persia, has made peace with Mustapha and proposed a royal marriage between the two empires. She draws attention to the political significance of such unlooked for events:

> But look into him by his outward ways:
> Persia, our old imbruèd enemy,
> Treats of peace with the son, without the father:
> A course in all estates to princes nice;
> But here much more . . . (33–37)

What, she asks,

> What sudden knot hath bound up our divisions?
> Made them that only feared our greater growing,
> Offer such projects for our greater growing? (40–43)

Rossa chafes at the indirect means by which she as a woman is expected to exercise her power; her impatience with institutional powerlessness fuels her ambition. Rosten asks "What want you to content you/That have the king of kings at your devotion?" She responds: "Content? O poor estate of woman's wit!/The latitude of princes is desire" (3.1.11–14). And, a few lines later exclaims:

> Ah servile sex! Must yokes our honor be,
> To make our own loves our captivity?
> No, Rossa, no; look not in languished wit,
> For none can stand on fortune's steep with it. (3.1 26–69)

Her goals are political, not personal or romantic. Her "chiefest end" "Is first, to fix this world on my succession;/ Next so to alter, plant, remove, create,/That I, not he [Mustapha], may fashion this estate" (3.1.152–55). While condemning the misogyny that blames political

crises on ambitious women, a twenty-first century feminist might take some satisfaction in a female character who frankly indulges her own will to power. Given early modern attitudes toward women who "meddled" in state affairs, however, Suleyman's credulity would doubtless have struck most contemporary audiences as less evil than Rossa's determination to control the throne.

The climax, Mustapha's execution, is narrated by Achmat, who grieves equally for Mustapha's death and Suleyman's fatal deception. Consequently, his commentary frames the event as tragic and pitiful, not as an occasion for triumphing over the sultan. He sets the scene:

> When Soliman, by cunning spite
> Of Rossa's witchcrafts, from his heart had banished
> Justice of kings, and lovingness of fathers,
> To wage, and lodge such camps of heady passions,
> As that sect's cunning practices could gather;
> Envy took hold of worth, doubt did misconster,
> Renown was made a lie, and yet a terror:
> Nothing could calm his rage, or move compassion:
> Mustapha must die. (5.2.19–27)

As Greville presents it, Achmat's account of the execution enhances, whenever possible, Mustapha's virtue and mitigates Suleyman's guilt. Suleyman is not portrayed as hiding behind the hangings of the pavilion (although the place is described as "The stately throne of tyranny, and murder," 5.2.46). Like à Moffan, Greville includes Mustapha's plea that the eunuchs charged with strangling him might "speak his last thoughts to his Father," but he stresses that the prince did not thereby seek to avoid death or crave life (5.2.54–59). Greville has Achmat attribute the sultan's refusal of this request to the abstract passions now possessing him:

> But bloody rage, that glories to be cruel;
> And jealousy, that fears she is not fearful;
> Made Soliman refuse to hear or pity. (5.2.61–63)

Whereas à Moffan depicts the sultan as cold and cowardly, Achmat, in Greville's work, does attribute "bloody rage" to the sultan. However, he views the sultan's rage and "jealousy" as tragic, more like Hercules' than Herod's. When the eunuchs fumble with the cord, Greville replaces Suleyman's harsh rebuke in à Moffan's account ("What not yet at length will you execute my commandments?") with milder

narratized speech:

> He bids them haste their charge: and bloody-eyed
> Beholds his son, whilst he obeying died. (5.2.64–65)

Instead of quoting Suleyman at this moment, Greville quotes Mustapha's last words, which (as Greville imagines them) echo those of Christ on the Cross:

> His last words were: "O father! Now forgive me;
> Forgive them too, that wrought my overthrow:
> Let my grave never minister offences.
> For, since my father coveteth my death,
> Behold with joy, I offer him my breath." (5.2.84–88)

Thus, overall, though Mustapha is Christlike and the sultan "bloody-eyed," Suleyman is depicted less negatively in this scene than in the sources.

On similar lines, Zanger's rebuke of the sultan after Mustapha's death ("detestable and wicked dog: Traitor, I will not name thee father") is also omitted in the play. His condemnation of the sultan is replaced by a speech, in which he chastises his *mother* and defeats her plan by his suicide. Rossa, initially distraught but ultimately defiant, quotes him directly and at length, and she presents his rage as righteous and deserved:

> The globes of his enragèd eyes he threw
> On me, like nature justly made unkind:
> And for this hateful fault my love did make,
> From pity, woe, and anger, thus he spake:
> "Mother! Is this the way of woman's heart?
> Have you no law, or God, but will, to friend . . . .
> If neither God, heaven, hell, or devil be;
> 'Tis plague enough that I am borne of thee." (5.4.75–85)

The quoted speech continues for another twenty lines, ending with Zanger's appeal to Muslims and Christians alike to "Read in these wounds" his horror at Mustapha's death (5.4.101).[25] Even more than in the source, the onus of the crime falls on the sultan's wife, not the sultan.

Greville's choruses contribute in several ways to the dialogic and cross-cultural perspective of the play. The choruses assert throughout the play that abuse of power is universal in human societies. The First

Chorus of Bashas, for example, generalizes about politics with a simile drawn from humour theory, also imagined to be universal:

> Like as mixed humours, drawn up from the ground,
> Are unto many forms and functions bound, . . .
> So is frail mankind, though in other fashion,
> Raised and let fall with his own earthly passion. (Cho.1.1–11)

The Chorus comments on the corruption of all those who serve power rather than virtue: "Bondage and ruin only wrought by those/That kings with servile flattery enclose" (Cho.1.23–24). According to the Bashas, their religious brethren, the mufti, are equally susceptible to corruption:

> The mufti, and their spiritual jurisdictions,
> By course succeed these other guilt-inflictions:
> Conscience annexing to our crescent star
> All freedoms that in man's frail nature are;
> By making doctrines large, strict, mild, severe,
> As power intends to stir up hope, or fear. (Cho.1.65–70)

In addition to generalizing about "mankind," Greville's choruses draw explicit comparisons with English institutions. Although tyrants may seem to limit their power by deference to law or religion, in reality they inevitably get their way:

> Even as in Christian courts of chancery,
> Though land, or titles cannot settled be,
> Yet where the person dares to disobey,
> Through him, his title they imprison may. (Cho.1.99–102)

The Second Chorus of Mahomedan Priests compares the administration of justice in Turkish and Christian lands, a popular topic in the travel narratives of the day. It contrasts, as Rees puts it, "the open tyranny of the Turkish régime" with "the covert ways by which in Christian countries laws are bent to serve power"[26]:

> We [Muslims] hear the fault, and so demand that head
> Which hath in martial duties been misled.
> Their [Christians'] process is to answer and appear,
> But under laws which hold the sceptre dear.
> Our law is martial, sudden, and severe,
> For fact can rarely intricateness bear.

Their laws take life from sovereignty,
Thankless to which, power will not let them be. (Cho.2.135–38)

The rule of law in Christian countries is undergirt (and implemented) by the power of the sovereign, and that power demands deference and "thanks." The chorus of Priests also compares the use of imperial power in the east and west:

Yet if by parts we travail to compare
What differences 'twixt these two empires are:
We build no citadels, our strengths are men,
And hold retreat to be the loser's den.
They by their forts mow their own people down,
A way perchance to keep, not spread, a crown. (Cho.2.121–26)

The notion of using "forts" against one's own people (for example, in Ireland or in the religious wars that plagued Europe in the seventeenth century) might have resonated powerfully, both in 1609 when the quarto appeared and in 1633 when the folio was published. Another detail of this chorus anticipates (with an ironic twist) the perception of the Turks as "an empire in decline." In a neat reversal of the English fear of contagion from "trafficking" with the east, the Turkish Priests lament that the martial vigor of *their* nation has been contaminated by "traffic" (trade and assimilation after conquest) with a corrupt and effeminate Christendom, "this dreaming Nation" whose "conquered vice hath stained our conquering state" (Cho.2.85–86).

Mahmoud Rais faults Greville for his failure to present "the action as felt and thought by Turkish characters" and for the "unnaturally self-critical" chorus of the Muslim Priests.[27] From the point of view of cultural realism, these comments may have merit; Suleyman's mufti were probably no more (and no less) likely to question their own behavior in relation to their sovereign than Elizabeth's or James's bishops were to question theirs. In fact, Tudor history was replete with clerics and courtiers pressured to follow a new sovereign's religious leanings or pay the price. For each one who resisted (such as Sir Thomas More), there must have been many others who agonized and chose an expedient path. A further passage points to just this phenomenon, as the Priests compare the relation between religion and the state in Christian and Muslim societies:

Our Sultans rule their charge by prophet's saws,
And leave the mufti judge of all their laws;
The Christians take and change faith with their kings,
Which under miters often the scepter brings. (Cho.2.151–55)

The point would have been particularly resonant for anyone who had lived through Mary's and Elizabeth's reigns or the anxiety surrounding the succession in the 1590s, and Greville assumes his Christian readers would be more than able to make sense, from their own experience, of the priests' critique of the clergy and religious institutions. As the passages above show, Greville goes farther than many western Christian writers in imagining dialogically how the vagaries of his own culture might appear to a Muslim observer.

The fourth chorus is spoken by Converts to Mahomedanism, and thus gives voice to a particularly sensitive issue, namely the fact that Christians were apparently more likely to convert to Islam than Muslims were to embrace Christianity. Greville tempers the volatility of this issue by making the Converts as critical as the mufti are of the "outward Church" (Cho.4.18), which by "irreligious rites [helps] religion's name/To blemish truth, with gilded lies cast in opinion's frame" (Cho.4.21–22). To this point, the Chorus seems compatible with the portrayal of Islam as mere superstition or heresy, but it strikes closer to home in analyzing how the competition for power by various factions (secular and religious) undermines the people's faith in their government:

> So in that noble work of public government
> When crowns, Church, soldiers, or the laws do overmuch dissent,
> That frame wherein they lived, is fatally dissolved,
> And each in gulfs of self-conceit, as fatally involved. (Cho.4.103–06)

While the end of the Chorus directs attention to the Turkish situation of the play ("Thus reels our present state," line 107) and refers to the "fate prepared to shake [the] Ottoman succession" (line 115), the pattern clearly applies to all states and all times, and perhaps none more pointedly than early seventeenth-century England.

The boldness of Greville's themes can be gauged by comparing the manuscripts and the quarto, and all earlier versions with the posthumous folio. For example, the chorus of converts to Islam exists in the early manuscript versions of the play, but it was apparently too controversial to be included in the quarto of 1609.[28] In the folio of 1633, the Fifth Chorus of Tartars bemoan the prevalence of "superstition" and "false miracles," terms often applied by westerners to Islam.[29] In the quarto and the Folger manuscript, however, the opening line reads simply: "Religion! thou vain and glorious style of weakness"; line 10 reads "Trust not this dream, religion"; and lines 14–15 refer to "miracles" pure and simple, without the qualifier "false."[30] In all the texts, the antireligious views of the Tartars are somewhat balanced

by the final chorus of Priests, but the Priests' faith is severely compromised (in both versions) by their awareness of their own corruption:

> O wearisome condition of humanity!
> Born under one law, to another bound:
> Vainly begot, and yet forbidden vanity,
> Created sick, commanded to be sound. (Cho.*Sacerdotum*.1–4)
>
> We that are bound by vows and by promotion
> . . .
> To teach belief in God and stir devotion
> To teach of heaven's wonders and delights;
> Yet when each of us in his own heart looks,
> He finds the God there far unlike his books. (Cho. *Sacerdotum*.19–24)

Just as Busbecq's candid assessment of Ottoman institutions was for "private friends only," Greville's original critique of both Islam and Christendom was deemed too bold for official approval. But the differences between the manuscripts and quarto and folio remind us that early modern published texts and private attitudes do not always coincide; both official censorship and self-censorship played a role in what appeared in print. This is an important factor to remember when we analyze the content and speculate about the reception of published texts about the Ottomans.

Bullough rightly warns that one must not read the choruses as Greville's spokespersons; they are participants in the broad dialogic debates of the play, not their arbiters. Thus, the "naturalistic philosophy" of the Tartars is dramatically specific to them, and the pessimism of the converts to Islam and priests must be seen in part as a consequence of their adherence to an "erroneous" creed.[31] These caveats are well taken, but Bullough's own commentary concedes that Greville believed the paradoxes of morality and politics were irreconcilable for Christians, too: his priests "stand for the institutionalists of all religions, and his Tartars might well be the 'Atheists' of Elizabethan England, just as his Bashas and Converts" have more than one original.[32] For Greville, the compromised world of politics is the inevitable result of the Fall; pure souls, such as Mustapha, though fit for heaven, have no place in the court. In sum, rather than being a critique of Islamic society, courtiers, or clergy, the choruses in *Mustapha* describe the imperfection of human political and religious institutions from the point of view of one who had ample opportunity to observe their workings firsthand in his own culture. The Ottoman priests, rulers, and courtiers are no worse—and no better—than their Christian counterparts. Overall, however, Greville emphasizes the melancholy

similarities between Islamic and Christian societies when viewed from the point of view of true justice and "inner" or pure religion.

## Suleyman and Mustapha in Seventeenth-century Heroic Drama

Later in the seventeenth century, analogues of the story of Suleyman and Mustapha were taken up by playwrights who wrote for the professional theatre. In Lodowick Carlell's *Osmond the Great Turke* (ca. 1638, Q 1657), the subplot of the Emperor Melcoshus and his son Orcanes resembles the Mustapha story. However, in Carlell's play there is no counterpart for Roxolana, and the son who is punished is actually guilty of a sexual offense with a (willing) married woman, whose jealous husband demands justice and is satisfied.[33] Moreover, Carlell's play has no real basis in Ottoman history. Despite Turkish-sounding titles and proper names (one son is named "Orcanes," and a solider identifies himself as a "Janisarie"), the hero is a Tartar, and the play is set in Tartary. Tangentially related, too, is part 1 of D'Avenant's "heroic opera" *The Seige of Rhodes* (ca.1656/1660), in which both Suleyman and Roxolana appear. The closest analogue, however, is Roger Boyle's *Mustapha* (ca.1665, Q1668), which assimilates the story to heroic tragedy, just as Greville and the anonymous author of *Solymannidae* assimilated it to the Senecan model. In Boyle's play, not only the sultan but Roxolana, too, is recuperated in a highly romanticized version of events.

Boyle, First Earl of Orrery (1621–1679), was the fifth son of Richard Boyle and the brother of Robert Boyle, the renowned scientist. His father was created Earl of Cork by James I, and Roger traveled and studied on the Continent, most notably in Geneva with the Italian scholar and translator of the bible, Giovanni Diodati, with whom Milton and John Evelyn were also acquainted. When the family moved to London, Boyle became friends with Suckling and other men of letters, and he was warmly received at court. In the decades that followed, according to his biographer, Boyle was "a brilliant soldier, an experienced politician, a vigorous pamphleteer, a graceful romancer, and the initiator of Restoration heroic drama," and, perhaps even more remarkable, "he enjoyed the personal friendship of both Cromwell and Charles II and served both masters well."[34]

Boyle's *Mustapha* was first performed on April 3, 1665. Samuel Pepys was in attendance and initially panned the work in his diary.[35] The play is written in rhymed couplets, with frequent *stichomythia*, and the surviving stage designs (reproduced in the edition of William

Smith Clark) establish the "Ottoman" scene largely through the graceful pavilions of the Turkish camp. Although Boyle apparently drew on Knolles' *Historie* for some details,[36] he revises history wholesale to explore the excruciatingly "nice" demands of honor. The play is set, not in Constantinople in 1553, but in Hungary in the 1540s, during one of Suleyman's campaigns. Boyle develops the friendship of the sultan's sons (Mustapha and Zanger) and adds an elaborate subplot involving the beautiful, young, and widowed Queen of Hungary, for whose love they both strive (thus testing their friendship and their honor). Defeated by Suleyman's army, the Queen daringly sends her infant son to Roxolana for protection, a stratagem that works, since Roxolana, no less than the other characters, is entirely consumed by the demands of honor and the claims of innocence upon the powerful.

In Boyle's version, the political issues that appealed to Greville are elided or omitted. The sultan is a noble (if absolute) ruler, not a politically effective but compromised "tyrant." Though he is convinced that Mustapha must die, he is an innocent dupe. He regrets what he believes he must do, but he does not accuse himself (nor does anyone accuse him) of being overly fearful or of choosing security over justice, as Greville's Solyman does. Boyle's Roxolana has no political agenda of her own. The intrigue against Mustapha is motivated by the vizier's desire to strengthen his "favour" with Roxolana, after their disagreement over the fate of the infant king of Hungary and his young Queen-mother. Rustan's reasoning is astute:

> I must engage her by some bold design,
> In which her interest with great crimes may join:
> The great can never love, because too high, . . .
> But they to those they fear will favour show,
> And they fear those who their great mischiefs know. (2.2.91–96)

Roxolana is drawn into Rustan's plot by his ability to play on her love for Zanger and on her fears that the law of succession will claim her son's life if Mustapha succeeds her husband. She is unaware, however, that Mustapha has promised to suspend the "bloody custom of our state" should he become the next sultan and that, in return, Zanger has promised not to outlive his brother should fate take a different turn. Roxolana's daughter, Camena, is omitted from the cast of characters, thus eliminating Roxolana's tie by marriage to the vizier and her most innocent victim. (In Greville's version, Roxolana murders Camena in an attempt to increase the appearance of Mustapha's guilt.) Roxolana is recast as a loving mother, and she constantly struggles with the fact

that to protect her own son, she must be cruel to her husband's:

> O cruel empire! That does thus ordain,
> Of royal race the younger to be slain,
> Making the imperial mother ever mourn. (2.3.313–15).

In every other circumstance, she, like Suleyman, adheres to the highest standards of justice and mercy. Instead of a demonic, unnatural, female intriguer, she is a loving mother and a noble consort.

Mustapha's state of mind as he meets his fate highlights the innovations in Boyle's treatment. As in the sources and in Greville's play, the prince submits to his father fully cognizant of the risks, but in Boyle's play he is moved not by duty to the sultan and the state (at any price), but by romantic despair and the demands of honor. When Mustapha first sees the mutes charged with his execution, he rejoices to be freed "from neglected love" and the "guilt . . . of being Rival to so brave a Friend" (i.e., Zanger, 5.4.172–74). But there is a problem: if Mustapha dies "by cruel force," Zanger will "freely, for [his] sake quit life and love" and "the greater friendship show," which will make his death more laudable than Mustapha's (5.4.175–84). Such nice calculations have no place in the world of Greville's *Mustapha*. The mutes then produce a "*black box with a parchment, the sultan's great seal hanging at it in a black ribbon*" (5.4.184 SD). At the parallel moment in the sources (which feature no black box or official writ), Mustapha says "Lo, my death," pleads to speak with his father, but offers no resistance. Boyle's Mustapha understands the meaning of the props, but finds the mutes' "officious haste" offensive and asks for time to consider what he "ought to do" (5.4.188–89).

In soliloquy, Mustapha considers further points of honor: is it right to yield to an unjust demand for his death? Does not nature grant one the right to defend oneself from destruction? If he tamely dies, will not that "teach the world to doubt [his] innocence"? Why should he seek to live, since the Hungarian Queen does not return his love? He then asks to speak with his father to "show / [His] injured innocence," and, when his request is denied, he draws and kills two of the mutes. Suleyman enters and, though angry, grants him an audience, with a parenthetical aside that pointedly contradicts the authorial parentheses one finds in à Moffan and Knolles about the sultan's lack of natural feeling: "(Though justice takes that life which he must lose,/Yet nature cannot this request refuse)" (5.4.230–31). Ultimately, Mustapha, though proclaiming his innocence, asks only that his own servants may be his executioners. This, of course, creates problems of honor

for *them*, until one of them pretends to grant the prince's wish and then kills himself (like Antony's servant Eros in Shakespeare's tragedy). As in the sources, the actual death scene is narrated (by Haly in 5.5.290–95) rather than dramatized. Zanger's honorable suicide is dramatized (in 5.6) and approved even by the grieving sultan, who proclaims "No Roman glory ever equalled thine" (5.6.410).

Roxolana, fearing the worst when Zanger goes to the pavilion before she has a chance to speak with him, follows him to find that "Heav'n" and her son's acute sense of honor have revenged themselves on her for "what [she has] done/ With so much guilty kindness" (5.7.460). The final scene, also Boyle's invention, depicts the sultan's confrontation with his wife, once her role in the conspiracy is discovered. Having granted Zanger's last wish (that the Queen of Hungary and her son be restored to power) and punished the evil vizier, Suleyman punishes his wife. Roxolana (who begs his forgiveness but expects and freely embraces death) is forced to write out her confession (to protect the sultan's honor); she is then banished and divorced, but not executed. She, of course, views banishment and divorce as worse than death ("What you preserved you instantly destroy," 5.9.776), and the sultan, too, is heartbroken at losing her:

> But Oh, how little I esteem a throne,
> When love, the ornament of power, is gone! (5.9.794–95)

Thus, in this final incarnation, Suleyman, Mustapha, and Roxolana are all entirely noble and obsessed with the impossible demands of honor. Just as this event from Ottoman history lent itself to the conventions of Senecan tragedy (revenge, deception, female ambition, and blood), it proved equally adaptable to the form of heroic tragedy. In so doing, however, Boyle utterly erased its historical and culturally specific elements; rather than entering into dialogue with Ottoman characters and culture, Boyle assimilates them entirely into the literary fashions of the Restoration court.

## CONCLUSION

The sultans criticized for participating (wittingly or unwittingly) in dynastic intrigue are presented and judged harshly in Goughe's translation of à Moffan's report and in *novelle* such as Painter's. In closet dramas, however, their actions and characters are represented in more complex ways. In the case of Suleyman, the dramatists significantly

reduce his culpability for Mustapha's unjust death. Greville's Suleyman is more noble and conflicted than à Moffan's, and his advisors try hard to persuade him of his son's innocence. The blame for Mustapha's unjust death is increasingly shifted to Roxolana (misogyny trumping xenophobia), and the dramatists mitigate or omit the less becoming details of the sources (such as Suleyman's hiding behind the curtains of the pavilion and crudely chastising the eunuchs). Moreover, in contrast to the sources, the rhetorical and dramatic elements typically reserved for commentary (asides, soliloquies, and choruses) are used to complicate moral issues and explore cultural differences, not to malign Muslims or the Turks in general. Greville presents both the sultan and the courtiers as corrupted by the universal conflict between the absolute power and ordinary morality. In Boyle's *Mustapha*, artificial conflicts of love and honor replace those of justice and loyalty to the sovereign. Any taint of wrong-doing is removed from both the sultan and Roxolana; in Boyle's heroic mode, the sultan's wife is charged with "guilty kindness" only. Although, like Greville, Boyle had significant political experience, the political and theatrical circumstances of the 1660s apparently mitigated against the deeply philosophical and critical view of the story that Greville produced at the turn of the seventeenth century.

One might argue that in both the early Senecan plays and in Boyle's heroic tragedy, the Ottoman characters cease to be "other" in any meaningful sense and simply fulfill their assigned roles in the chosen genre. Viewing the other as a version of the self is generally viewed as cultural ignorance and mere wish fulfillment, and therefore as a bad thing, but it is hard to argue that it is as destructive as viewing the other as inhuman or demonic. Moreover, in Greville's tragedy, there are persistent references to differences between the Ottoman and Christian systems, as well as to the political, religious, and social forces that might reasonably be thought to operate in each. The play is sufficiently knowledgeable about the specifics of its Turkish theme that it cannot be said to "erase" cultural differences; indeed, as in some of the passages quoted above, Turkish customs are not only explored dialogically but presented as superior (at least in the eyes of the Turkish characters). The fact that these forces disappear altogether from the later play, along with any suggestion of ignoble behavior on the part of the principals, reveals the surprisingly thorough assimilation of things Ottoman to English literary fashion, but it also empties the Turkish characters of any trace of cultural or historical specificity. While that erasure was possible for Boyle and his audience in 1665,

Greville presented to his readers a more complex balance of difference and commonality. Not only does Greville's sultan benefit from speaking for himself, as is the norm in a drama, but epithets, generalizations, asides, and other elements of the rhetoric of alterity are used to enhance, not demean, his moral and political stature.

# Epilogue

# After Knolles: William Seaman's *The Reign of Sultan Orchan*

Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie*, while relying on eastern histories and acknowledging the Turks' accomplishments, remained deeply critical of what he understood to be the Ottoman political and social system. Early seventeenth-century English travelers, such as Fynes Moryson and George Sandys, likewise revealed a deep ambivalence about the east, spending time and treasure to visit Ottoman lands but also alleging that the empire was declining from the virtues (and vices) which westerners had attributed to it. As travel to the east became more common for English people and as English scholars learned Turkish and Arabic, it was only a matter of time until readers might hold in their hands a direct translation of a Turkish historical text. As an epilogue to this study, I will glance briefly at the first such work to be published in London, William Seaman's *The Reign of Sultan Orchan* (London, 1652). In this extract from the Sadeddin's *Tac üt Tevarih*, Seaman's translation and apparatus use both dialogue and commentary to enhance the image of the Ottoman Sultanate.

A graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, Seaman was appointed to a rectorship in 1628 but went to Turkey shortly thereafter with the English ambassador, Sir Peter Wyche.[1] In addition to translating Sadeddin, he published a Turkish grammar (*Grammaticae linguae Turcicae*, 1670) and worked many years on a Turkish-Latin dictionary that was unfinished at his death. Thomas Vaughan later found fault with Seaman's grammatical treatise, but he acknowledged that his own work followed Seaman's in "its form, and well-nigh all the substance, too." Competent in Arabic as well as Turkish, Seaman

translated the index of a codex on Islam. At the instigation of Samuel Hartlib, Robert Boyle, and others he undertook the translation of John Ball's Protestant catechism (published 1660) and of the New Testament (1666) to facilitate the conversion of Muslims expected by his millenarian patrons. The *DNB* asserts that Seaman, too, was "profoundly committed" to evangelizing the Levant. However, if he wanted the Protestant scriptures to speak to the Turks in their own tongue, he also enabled Sadeddin to speak to the English in theirs. For him, dialogue with the Turks was a two-way exchange.

In *The Reign of Sultan Orchan*, Seaman worked from the Turkish and refers to Sadeddin by his Turkish title, "*Hojah Effendi*."[2] In his dedication to Lady Jane Merick (Sir Peter's widow), he laments his own limitations and praises the elegance of Sadeddin:

> The gift [of this book] is not only small, but that which also taketh from the worth of it is that from the distance between the languages, the inimitable elegancy of the author, and the rudeness of an unpolished pen, it could not but be much unclothed of its native ornaments. (sig. *3r)

Although he distinguishes his source (presumably the five-volume *Tac üt Tevarih*) from the brief annals that he claims Knolles used, a comparison of his translation with Knolles' *Life of Orchanes*, which is explicitly based on the *Annales*,[3] suggests that they derive from the same source for incidents common to both.[4] However, whereas Knolles often cited the Turks against themselves and de Mézeray's 1662 translation of Lewenklaw departs from the objectivity of the Latin text, Seaman makes no attempt to use Sadeddin's history to criticize the Turks. On the contrary, he transmits without apology or reservation its portrait of a hero-king: "The imperially-minded and victorious Sultan Orchan, whose ultimate intentions in his enlargement of dominions and exaltation of his throne and dignity was the propagation of religion and the faith and the establishment of good laws for his subjects" (45).

Seaman takes Knolles to task for having claimed that the Turkish histories are "short rude notes," asserting that the problem lay in Knolles' knowledge of the Turkish sources, not in the sources themselves:

> [T]he true reason rather was that there had not been then made that diligent inquisition, either into the elegancy of their language or literature, . . . [F]or upon inquiry it will be found that they have not only their short *Annales de rebus gestis* but likewise ample histories of their princes . . . written at large by learned men. (sig. [*4v]–A1r)

He stresses Sadeddin's reputation as an "eminent historian"; "For credit [veracity] and elegancy of style, he is in great esteem among them" (sig. [A1v]). He emphasizes the importance of translating the Turks' own histories, and aims "*from their own writings*, somewhat [to] inform the judgements of men concerning them" (sig. [*4v], emphasis added). Similar to the Latin translators of eastern sources, he upholds the learning, eloquence, and value of his author, but he does so without alluding to the need to learn from the "enemy."

Seaman also tries to preserve the poetic style of his text, explaining that in translating Sadeddin he has adapted the English language to Turkish rather than the other way around: "I thought it to fit to go as nigh the original as our language would well bear, desiring rather a little to change our propriety to fit theirs, than much to alter their phrase to put it in ours." (sig. [A1v]). His impulse is thus the opposite of the imperialist desire to convert the other to one's own "propriety." He preserves many circumlocutions and metaphors, glossing them in brackets within the text or in the margins: "Osman was translated to Paradise [that is, died]" or the sultan heeded "the call of the (a) Merciful"—'*a That is, God*" (1, marginal comment). Unlike de Mézeray, who inserted judgmental apparatus into his translation of the *Annales*, Seaman retains the laudatory headings that seemed presumptuous to some earlier English readers. His internal title reads, *The Reign of the Blessed, Meek, and Warlike Orchan, Protector of the World* (1).

Seaman's enthusiasm for his source recalls that of the early Latin translators, but in many respects he outdoes them. He adopts two Arabic terms from his source: *Islam* and *Kuffar* (*kafir* or unbeliever).[5] For these key signifiers, he "thought it more proper to use [the Turks'] own term than to translate it" (sig. A2r). Instead, he explains the meaning of each term at some length in his preface (sig. [A1v]–[A3v]), reproducing phrases in Arabic and citing definitions from the English Arabists, such as Echtery's Arabic dictionary and Edward Pocock's *De origine et moribus Arabum*. In doing so, he recognizes that he preserves the religious point of view of his source. In his history, he explains, *Kuffar*, the Muslim equivalent of "infidel," will refer to Christians. However, lest anyone think him blasphemous or too casual in this usage, he glosses the term in an acceptable way:

> I desire the reader by it to understand the Christians of those parts, whose duty it was not only to give no credit to the impostures and delusions of that false prophet, but also to reject everything in religion which had not Jesus Christ for its foundation. (sig. [A3v]–A4r)

On one other occasion Seaman injects marginal references to Mohammad as "an imposter" (3), but for the rest he transmits the Muslim perspective of his source intact.

Predictably, the epithets given to Muslim and Christian figures in Sadeddin's work are dramatically altered from those in the more militant western histories. Rather than a "raging beast" "bridled" only by God, the Ottoman armies are "the refuge of victory" (29, marginal comment), Muslims are "the elect" (16), and the sultan is "the refuge of religion" (76) and "the pleaser of holy men" (22). The Turks' Christian opponents are "the graceless company" (8), full of "pride and arrogancy" (14), and their leaders are "tyrant[s]" (59), "terrible scorpions" (75), and "soulless lion[s]" (15); they pursue "wicked courses" (15) and "mischief" (75). Epithets that appear in western accounts are valued differently. Whereas William Painter compared Suleyman to a heartless "lioness," Sadeddin praises a pair of commanders as "two fierce lions" when they ambush the "unbelievers" and capture their castle (2). In contrast to western historians, who complained of the Turks' failure to keep promises, Sadeddin reports that conquered Christians *kept* their oaths of obedience and loyalty, but they do so because they discover the goodness and justice of their new Muslim lords.[6] Not only does Seaman transmit the perspective of his source unchanged, he neither mocks nor comments on these elements of Sadeddin's text, as Painter, Knolles, and de Mezéray were inclined to do.

Seaman retains Sadeddin's citations of the Koran and wisdom literature that underscore the piety of individual sultans and God's role in their victories. When a besieged castle sues for peace, Orchan grants it, "according to the sense of this saying, *Mercy is the Alms of Victory*" (37). (The sultan's obligation to be merciful, in contrast to the western stereotype of the cruel Turk, is a leitmotif in Sadeddin's account.) During the battle of Gallipoli the figure of Suleyman, Orchan's son, who had recently died, appeared to the enemy accompanied with phalanxes of ghostly reinforcements. Thus, Sadeddin writes, "the sense of this verse became manifest; *Your Lord shall help you with five thousand angels*" (95). Seaman also preserves aspects of Sadeddin's text which present the Biblical and classical past as part of the Ottoman cultural heritage. The rafts that transported Suleyman's soldiers across the Bosphorus were "formed like the ark of Noah" and steered by "the light of the Musilman faith" (71), and certain ruins were considered to be "the remains of the buildings of S[h]em, the son of Noah, on whom let there be peace" (40). Such references reminded English readers, more forcefully than any third-party commentary, that Muslims

were also "people of the Book" and revered the figures of the Old (and New) Testaments. Although references to Graeco-Roman antiquity are less common, Sadeddin describes a Christian beauty as having "Narcissus-like eyes" (6). He also sees the sultans as the heirs of Roman and Byzantine empires, referring to Mehmed II as "the first of the Ceasars of the Ottoman progeny" (27), just as Safiye, the wife of Murad III, described her husband to Elizabeth I as "the sovereign who has Alexander's place."[7] Like the Biblical references, these allusions to classical antiquity foreground the common—if contested—heritage of east and west.

At times, Seaman does mitigate the anti-Christian epithets of his source, providing a neutral term in the main text and the literal translation in the margin:

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|---|---|
| with the *(b)* enemy | b *Turk: wicked enemy* (5) |
| the *(h)* porter [of a Christian castle] | h *Turk: filthy porter* (9) |
| a *naughty people [Christians] | * *Turk: hellish people* (64) |
| the *(b)* enemies [Christians] | b *Turk: wicked, unbelieving people* (75) |

He further acknowledges that he has routinely omitted "as somewhat unbecoming a Christian pen" the Muslim blessing ("Peace be upon him") that traditionally follows any reference to the Prophet (32). Although Seaman defers on these occasions to the sensitivities of his audience, he also preserves, far more than his predecessors, many aspects—linguistic, religious, and stylistic—of his source.

Naturally, in this text, the sultan speaks both wisely and well. For the most part, he is represented by indirect quotations or narratized speeches; the former distance him slightly from the reader (as an august presence), and the latter emphasize that, as "Ruler of the World," many of his words were commands. Passing some poor widows of "unbelievers" on the road, he enquired into their affairs. They explained their "comfortless condition," and the sultan, "moved with compassion, commanded that those of the victorious Army who were willing, should marry these women and reside with them in their habitations" (38). Directly quoted at length is his advice to a Turkomen noble, Tursun Beg, whose elder brother's misdeeds have inspired petitions that he rule in his brother's stead. Orchan reminds Tursun that among Muslims, "the sense of the law not being known, to proceed in a way of war is forbidden" (56). He counsels him to "procure an interview with your elder brother, where speaking with him face to face" they might find an "accommodation" and "be reconciled" (57).

This pious advice is approved by all—though it proves disastrous for Tursun, since his brother takes the opportunity to murder him. This crime incurs the sultan's righteous wrath; the brother is exiled (in itself merciful), and his lands revert to the Ottomans. A cynical reader might question the sultan's advice, recalling the Turks' alleged gift for guile, but such skepticism seems as far from Seaman's thoughts as from Sadeddin's.

The one tragedy in the sultan's reign is the death of his son Suleyman in a hunting accident. When the news arrives, his grief resembles Herculean rage:

> [T]aking the death of his son as the burning of his bowels and filling the cope of heaven with sighs and cries, he descended from his royal throne to the affliction of ashes, and from the top of the dominion of the world to insupportable misery. The paternal love of the strenuous king caused him to desert both meat and sleep: also weeping bitterly, he rent his garments and put earth upon his head. (97–98)

The sultan's emotion though profound is not destructive or self-destructive. Having grieved, he embraces this "transitory life" with patience and resolves to resign the throne (99). His health is frail, however, and shortly he is delivering his final advice to his heir, which is quoted directly:

> It is the duty of a King, and inseparable to a religious prince, to put in execution the commands of God, and to enliven the statutes of righteousness: likewise to spend his strength in destroying the unbelievers; and that discountenancing and rooting out all scandalous evils, he exercise justice, liberality, and mercy. (100)

To this speech, Sadeddin adds a poetic coda, which Seaman emphasizes is an invention "by the Author," not part of the history proper:

> Do not sigh or weep for me. . . .
> Do justice always in the kingdom.
> Let good name be thy aim; strive to attain it.
> Make no person groan by thy oppression. . . .
> Keep always in order the affairs of the world,
> And let the seat of thy kingdom be permanent. (101–02)

There is little in these speeches to which an early modern Christian could object, save the wish for "permanent" Ottoman rule and the charge to destroy unbelievers.

Comparing one episode in Seaman's version of the life of Orchan with the comparable episode in Knolles' *Historie* further reveals the relative daring of Seaman's work. In connection with the taking of the castle of Aydus (called "Abydos" in Knolles[8]), both Knolles and Seaman include a story in which a Christian noblewoman dreams of and then falls in love with a Turkish warrior. She subsequently delivers her father's castle to him, converts to Islam, and marries the Turk. In Seaman's version, the religious implications of her dream are present from the first: she had a "vision" in which she fell into "a dark, deep, and horrible pit" that she "conceived . . . to be the snare of her destruction" (6). Then suddenly, she spied

> a young man, whose lustre dispelled the darkness from the brink of the pit, where he stood waiting for her deliverance and drew her from an abyss of horror to a high degree of joy. He likewise pulled off her defiled garments, and brought her near to paradise, by vestments of glory. (6)

The religious overtones of the passage ("darkness," "deliverance," paradise," and "glory") all prefigure her eventual conversion to Islam. Later she catches sight of one of the Turkish captains, the handsome Abdyrahman, and, realizing he is the man in her dream, she writes him a letter (in Greek) making known her "desires . . . of turning to the [Muslim] faith" (7). She counsels him to pretend to raise the siege and to return secretly at night. With her help (he scales the castle walls by climbing up "the shining braid of [her] hair"), the castle "was washed with the water of the sword from the pollution of false worship," and the governor and his daughter are sent to the court of "the glorious Orchan" (9–10). The lovers eventually marry, and their son becomes a famous hero, "black Abdyrahman," with whose name for generations thereafter Turkish mothers silence fractious children (10). Sadeddin's story is thus the mirror image of Christian tales of converted Saracen or Muslim princesses, a theme prominent in Massinger's *The Renegado* and in medieval literature and discussed by scholars such as F.M. Warren and Sharon Kinoshita.[9]

Knolles' version retains the cross-cultural love story, the betrayal of the castle, and the lady's conversion to Islam (all sensitive issues for a Christian audience), but he strips the dream of its religious overtones, presenting it as a purely romantic fantasy. The young woman dreams

> that being fallen into a deep, miry ditch, out of which she could by no means escape herself, a lusty young gallant coming by did not only help

> her out, but also in friendly manner made her clean and . . . appareled her in rich and costly attire. (182)

In her secret message, she expresses only her “passionate affection” and promises “to deliver the castle unto [his] power if the Turks would raise their siege, . . . [and] secretly return to the castle in the dead time of the night” (182). Knolles thus reduces Sadeddin’s emphasis on the religious issues, whereas Seaman is content to let them stand. Knolles also slightly downplays details that reflect badly on the Christian characters, such as the allegation (frequent in the Turkish annals) that the guardians of the castle were drunk when it was taken, having prematurely celebrated the departure of the Turkish forces. Knolles admits that the Christians “in their great jollity surcharged themselves that might with excess of both meat and drink” (182–830), whereas, as translated by Seaman, Sadeddin refers more bluntly to the “wicked Governor” being found with “the rest of his companions” “drunk with wine and proudly lying upon his bed of repose” (9).

Somewhat surprisingly, Knolles and Seaman both allude with admiration to the continuity of Ottoman rule and practices. It was fairly common in western histories to note that, by 1603, the Ottoman Empire had been handed down in a direct line from father to son for thirteen generations, a feat that no western European royal house could match. As Knolles puts it, the dynasty stretched from Othman “by many descents directly in the line of himself, even unto Mahomet the third of that name, who now reigneth” (sig. [A4v]).[10] Dynastic stability, as the English knew firsthand, was an enormous benefit to the people. In addition, tokens of cultural continuity appeal to Sadeddin and to Knolles. Knolles retains many such details from Sadeddin’s account: the posterity of Abdyrahman and the lady of Aydus “yet remain among the Turks” in that region (183); the school founded by Orchanes in Nicomedia 250 years ago is “yet called . . . Orchanes his school or college” (183); the white felt caps adopted by men of war in Orchan’s time “the Janissaries use at this day” (183)[11]; Orchan was the first of the sultans to build “abbeys and monasteries [i.e., religious schools and places of retreat] among the Turks,” and his example has been “imitated and is among them used unto this day” (183). Additional comments can be found in Seaman’s *Life* in the portions not adapted by Knolles.[12] Though both Christian and Muslim cultures stressed the mutability of all earthly things,[13] both Sadeddin and Knolles take comfort in institutions and gestures that have staying power. Seaman’s translation of Sadeddin is more

complete and faithful than Knolles' adaptation, but the comparison also brings into focus the positive elements that Knolles preserved from the *Annales* and that co-existed with his critical commentary.

Seaman's practices at once anticipate and contradict those of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Orientalists. On the one hand, his knowledge of Arabic and Turkish allows him to trump Knolles' reliance on translation and to demonstrate his learning. He traces the origins of words: Gallipoli derives from the Arabic *Cala* (castle) and the Greek word *polis* (city or body politic) (74). He alludes to "another history of the Turks" that offers additional details (23, marginal comment). He cites a Turkish author ("Lamy") to illuminate the philosophical concept of the "world of similitudes" that exists between the terrestrial and the divine,[14] but his learning does not take center stage or outweigh the text. Moreover, he does not generalize about the Turks, much less indulge in negative epithets, such as Knolles' parenthetical allusions to "their barbarous manner." He places the elegance of the source above his own and aspires to fit English linguistic and poetic norms to Turkish, not the other way round. In hindsight, his participation in an evangelical project may suggest an emergent Orientalist agenda, but nothing in his translation of Sadeddin conveys a sense of European superiority or hostility to the Ottoman world. Rather, just as Muslims viewed the invitation to convert to Islam as a boon and a gesture of admiration, Seaman sees the Protestant Gospels as a gift to a people he had come to admire.[15]

Seaman's enthusiasm for his Turkish author and Ottoman civilization may derive from a feeling (not yet available to Knolles) that the Turks no longer represented a threat. Mustapha I, son of Ahmet I (reigned 1603–1617) was deposed after only one year. His successor Osman II (1618–1622) attempted to abolish the *devşirme* and "Turkify" the administration (which Mustapha's critics viewed as too "European"). His efforts caused the Janissaries to revolt, to assassinate him and his vizier, and to reinstate Mustapha—events well reported in the London newsbooks of the day.[16] His successor, the capable Murad IV (reigned 1623–1640), attempted to restore the order and unity for which the empire was famous, but the actions of the next sultan Ibrahim I ("the Mad," 1640–1648) led to another revolt and to his execution by order of the *şeyhulislam*, the chief cleric of the land. Thus, the Turks experienced their first legal regicide even as the English Parliament signed the order for the execution of Charles I. The positive picture of Orchan might be an expression of royalist nostalgia, but Seaman was himself a "moderate nonconformist" and moved the circle of Turkey merchants rather than the

court.[17] Although the Ottomans besieged Vienna in 1683, by the end of the century their westward expansion was at an end. The Turkish army was destroyed by the Habsburg forces at Zenta in 1697, and the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) essentially ended the Ottoman threat in Europe.

In presenting this portion of Sadeddin's history with virtually no negative commentary, Seaman obviously relied on his direct experience of Ottoman culture and his ability to read Sadeddin's text in Turkish, rather than in Latin or as adapted in Knolles' *Historie*. As can be seen in the reports of early English travelers, experience is inevitably influenced by prior cultural conditioning, and travelers often (though by no means always) see what they expect to find. However, Seaman's ability to appreciate Sadeddin's history was evidently not precluded by his prior exposure to the works of Knolles, English travel writers, and other texts about the Ottomans. Perhaps the Latin editions of Sadeddin and Chalkokondyles inspired him to encounter eastern others on their own terms, and, as I have been suggesting throughout this study, even hostile western accounts of Turkish history and culture contained elements of admiration and self-critique. On balance, Knolles' chapters on individual sultans do not simply confirm the stereotype of the demonic, dehumanized, raging Turk. They are simply too "thick" in every sense of the term (too long; too contextualized; too full of incidents, human emotions, and complicated political and personal relationships) to reify this reductive trope.

Somewhere between Knolles and Seaman and the mid-eighteenth century, historical conditions and national self-interest conspired to create the monologic discourse of Orientalism that Said describes, and the Turks became not the terror of the world but the sick man of Europe. However, this study of English representations of the Ottomans suggests that the creation of cultural stereotypes does not resemble an arrow in flight, a development in one unerringly negative direction; rather it resembles a ball ricocheting off the sides of a billiard table in surprising angles of influence and reception. Historical conditions, translations, trade relationships, and diplomatic interests deflect and accelerate ideological elements, even reverse them, putting another kind of "English" on the ball. Speaking of the historical moment of Shakespeare's *Othello* versus the heyday of the slave trade, Emily Bartels makes a similar point about early modern attitudes towards Moors and blacks. She posits a "radical disjunction between a world that would acknowledge and embrace a Moor of Venice" and one "that would rather put him in chains."[18] As we reconstruct the

trajectories of prejudice and hostility, it is important not to overlook the counter discourses visible in translators like Clauser, Golius, Lewenklaw, and Seaman, and in writers like Marlowe, Greville, and, yes, even Knolles. These writers entered into substantial scholarly and imaginative dialogue with eastern others, sometimes admiring what they found and sometimes recognizing in the Turks the same faults they saw in themselves.

# Notes

## Preface

1. *The Tragical Reign of Selimus* (sc.12.14–16), in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
2. As Matthew Dimmock astutely notes, many critics are "so entangled in Said's work that they often end up reasserting the basic divisions of his thesis in the process of denying them"; see *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 6. Dimmock's most welcome analysis of Anglo-Ottoman relations and their influence on English texts about the Ottomans appeared after this book was essentially complete, and I look forward to reading it more thoroughly. However, I will comment on a few specifics of his study in chapters 2 and 3.
3. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p.13.
4. See for example Jean E. Howard, "An English Lass Among the Moors: Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Nationality Identity in Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*"; Ania Loomba, "The Color of Patriarchy"; and Lynda Boose, "The Getting of a Lawful Race," all in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). See also Howard's essay "Gender on the Periphery," in *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean: Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Valencia, 2001*, eds. Tom Clayton, Susan Brock, and Vincente Forés (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 344–62.
5. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivack, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 24–28.

## Introduction

1. Rana Kabbani, *European Myths of Orient* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 5.

2. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), pp. 2–3.
3. Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. ix.
4. Quoted in Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London and New York: Verso, 1992), p. 183. Ahmad accuses Said of forgetting that the "High Humanist" "line of continuity between Aeschylus and the modern European . . . was itself fabricated in post-Renaissance Europe" (p. 166), but this "fabrication" would seem to be part of Said's argument.
5. Edward W. Said, "Traveling Theory," *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 239.
6. Timothy Brennan, "The Illusion of a Future: *Orientalism* as Traveling Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 558–83, esp. 558–59.
7. See Gloria Allaire, "Noble Saracen or Muslim Enemy: The Changing Image of the Saracen in Late Medieval Italian Literature," and Nancy Bisaha, " 'New Barbarian' or Worthy Adversary: Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth-century Italy," both in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), pp. 173–84, and pp. 185–205, respectively.
8. Prominent among them are the works of Jean Howard, Nabil Matar, and Daniel Vitkus cited in the preface, Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and several works by Jonathan Burton: "Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 125–56; "Emplotting the Early Modern Mediterranean," in *Remapping the World in Early Modern English Writing*, ed., Goran Stanivukovic (New York: Palgrave, 2007); "English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion," *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2002): 35–67; and *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005).
9. The "sons of Othman" or Osman succeeded other Turkish peoples in Anatolia, including the Seljuk Turks and the older Turkomen nobles, whose descendents posed a more or less constant challenge to Ottoman hegemony.
10. Barbara and Charles Jelavich, "Balkans, History of the," *Encylopaedia Britannica Macropaedia*, 15th ed., 2: 621.
11. Timothy Hampton, " 'Turkish Dogs,' Rabelais, Erasmus, and the Rhetoric of Alterity," *Representations* 41 (1993): 58–82, esp. p. 61.
12. Ibid., p. 63.
13. Quoted in Franklin L. Baumer, "England, the Turks, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *American Historical Review* 50, no. 1 (October 1945): 26–48, esp. 29–30.

14. The sultans commanded the only standing, professional army of the day, one of the keys to their military success. Under the *devşirme* system, conquered populations were subject to the "tribute of children" to supply soldiers for the sultan's elite forces, and officers were paid in land or tribute from the newly conquered territories (by means of *timars*, fiefdoms, or *iltizams*, "tax farms").
15. Baumer, "Common Corps of Christendom," p. 30. Baumer concludes that European statesmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries viewed the Turk "as a species different *in kind* from Christian states whether Catholic or Protestant, a political pariah excluded by his very nature from membership in the family of European states" (27). Whether or not officialdom held such views, I hope to show that the popular and literary attitude as reflected in histories and the drama was more varied and flexible.
16. On modern and early modern misrepresentations of the Noachic genealogy, see Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser., 54, no.1 (January 1997): 103–42.
17. Even today, Ancient Egypt and the pharaohs are as much a staple of American elementary school curricula as Greek mythology and history and for the same reason—we see ourselves as their heirs.
18. Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 92–93.
19. For Shakespeare's use of these themes, see my "Antony and Alexander: Imperial Politics in Plutarch, Shakespeare, and Some Modern Historical Texts" *College Literature* 20 (October 1993): 1–18.
20. While the Europa story, like that of the Sabine women, is one of rape, the divine aggressor, Zeus, desired her person, not her land, and carried her off to Crete where she gave birth to King Minos and, by extension, the flowering of Minoan civilization.
21. John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627), p. 3. John Gillies has pointed out that this view of Asia is in keeping with the moralized and "biblicized" world map in works such as Hugh Broughton's *A Concent of Scripture* (ca. 1590). In this "resilient" tradition, the continents were given by Noah to his three sons, Asia going "the blessed S[h]em." See *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 174–77.
22. A character in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (London, 1609) alludes to the "four forgotten monarchs" superceded by Suleyman the Magnificent, which serve as "the footstools . . . of his eternal glory" (2.1.18–21).
23. Kabbani, *European Myths*, p. 14.
24. Quoted in Matar, *Islam*, p. 119 n.193.
25. Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

26. S. A Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 69.
27. Ferdinand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sîan Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 1: 626.
28. Matar, *Islam*, p. 2.
29. Matar, *Islam*, pp. 115–16.
30. Mary C. Fuller, " 'If My Fortunes Turn Turk With Me': Figures of Islam in Early Modern English Drama," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, San Francisco, April 2,1999. See also Matar, *Islam*, p. 96.
31. Robert Boerth, "The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World on the Stage of Marlowe and Shakespeare," *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 (1996): 35–58, esp. p. 39. Gerald MacLean makes a similar point in "Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop Henry King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger," in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 85–96, esp. p. 86.
32. Under the heading "Pamphlets on Affairs Abroad to 1640," *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* lists the titles and dates of some 170 pamphlets, most from 1550 onwards; sixteen of them clearly report on events in Ottoman territories. Many are objective and matter-of-fact: *News from Rome, Venice, and Vienna touching the present proceedings of the Turkes against the Christians*, 1595; *Late news out of Barbary*, 1613. Even when reporting the assassination of a sultan in the unsettled years between 1617 and 1623, the tone is often quite matter-of-fact:

    *A true relation of the murther of Osmond the great Turke, 1622*

    *The strangling and death of the great Turke, and his two sonnes, 1622*

    *First from Constantinople showing the establishing of princely Amurath, 1623*

    When compared with pamphlets about Catholic Europe on this same list, however, the titles of Ottoman newsbooks are in fact less (not more) judgmental or hostile. For example, Spain and France and other countries are portrayed as the location of various outrages.

    *A warnyng for England contayning the horrible practises of the Kyng of Spayne in the kyngdom of Naples, 1555*

    *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guyse in . . . Vassy, 1562*

    *A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of France, 1573*

    *A true relation of the bloody execution of some . . . statesmen in Prague, 1621*

*A true relation of the unjust and barbarous proceedings against the English . . . in the East Indies by the Netherlandish governor, 1624*

In the titles of these pamphlets, the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch are singled out for cruelty and barbarism, not the Turks.

33. C.A. Patrides, "The 'Bloody and Cruel Turk': the Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126–35, esp. p. 129.
34. See Süheyla Artemel, " 'The Great Turk's Particular Inclination to Red Herring': The Popular Image of the Turk during the Renaissance in England," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5, no.2 (1995): 188–208, esp. p. 197.
35. In early modern drama, even stage directions are cast in the here and now and remain as impersonal and unobtrusive as possible; see my *The Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions: The Evolution of a Theatrical Code* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1999).
36. For example, in "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse" he writes:

    > In this consists the categorical distinction between the novel and all straightforward genres—the epic poem, the lyric, and the drama (strictly conceived). All directly descriptive and expressive means at the disposal of these genres, as well as the genres themselves, become upon entering the novel an object of representation within it.

    See M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans., Michael Holquist, ed. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 49. This categorical distinction was softened in Bakhtin's later writings, in which he acknowledges that once the novel "reigns supreme," other genres became "novelized" (more dialogical), and he alludes specifically to the plays of Ibsen and Hauptmann ("Epic and Novel," *Dialogic Imagination*, pp. 5–6). Interestingly, Bakhtin locates the author in the novel and drama similarly. The author "cannot be found at any one of the novel's language levels," only "at the center . . . where all levels intersect" ("Prehistory," *Dialogic Imagination*, pp. 48–49). Similarly, according to two Bakhtin scholars, he recognized that a dramatist's "ultimate semantic authority is to be found in the whole work"; it "may not be expressed by any character"; see Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 148–49.
37. "[T]he system of languages in drama is organized on completely different principles. . . . There is no all-encompassing language, dialogically oriented to separate languages, there is no second all-encompassing extra-plot (not dramatic) dialogue" (Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," *Dialogic Imagination*, p. 266).

38. See the discussion of "single-voiced words" of the "second type" in Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, pp. 148–49. They agree that it is hard to understand why Bakhtin views "objectified" or "represented discourse" as monologic. He apparently believes that author/narrator and character "do not lie on the same plane and so they cannot dispute with each other" (p. 149). But it is not clear why this would not be equally true of Dostoevsky's narrators and characters between whom Bakhtin sees fully dialogic relations.
39. Quoted in Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, p. 131.
40. For a pioneering study of dialogic effects in *Richard II*, see James R. Siemon, *Word Against Word: Shakespearean Utterance* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).
41. Thomas Newton, trans., *The Tenne Tragedies of Seneca Translated into English* (The Spenser Society, 1887, Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967; a facsimile of the 1581 edition), sig. [A3v].
42. Briefly, I agree that Bakhtin's work suggests that "even the most seemingly monologic utterances are dependent on the interplay of meanings found only in dialogue" (Alex Preminger, T.V.F. Brogan, co-eds.; Frank J. Warnke, O.B. Hardison, and Earl Minor, associate eds., "Dialogism," *The New Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993], p. 291).
43. Philip Sturgess, *Narrativity: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 217.
44. The seminal work for analyzing fictional narrators is Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961).
45. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner, eds., *A New Philosophy of History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 1.
46. Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in W.T.J. Mitchell ed., *On Narrative*, (Chicago, IL and London: University Press of Chicago, 1981), pp. 1–23, esp. 23.
47. In commenting on the historiographic thinking of the period, Michael Neill comments that the "the aims of moral education or political suasion" often, or perhaps always, "took precedence over any commitment to the 'truth' of events"; see " 'The Exact Map or Discovery of Human Affairs': Shakespeare and the Plotting of History," in *Putting History to the Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 375
48. *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546), sig.*iv$^{r}$. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. For a discussion of history as moral *exemplum*, see Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
49. Alex Preminger, *et al.*, eds., *New Princeton Encyclopaedia*, p. 290.
50. Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 236.
51. On the authorship of the formerly disputed works, see Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, pp. 101–02, and Caryl Emerson, "Beyond

the Cutting Edge: Bakhtin at 107," *The Russian Review* 61 (October 2002): 618–22, esp. p. 621.

52. V.N. Voloshinov "From *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*," in *The Bakhtin Reader: Selected Writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev, and Voloshinov*, ed. Pam Morris (London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1994), p. 58.
53. Voloshinov's categories (linear and pictorial) correspond roughly to Bakhtin's distinctions between monologic and dialogic texts, and single-voiced and double-voiced words.
54. Voloshinov, "From *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*," in Morris, *Bakhtin Reader*, p. 68.
55. A Turkish press was established in 1727 but fell into disuse until the nineteenth century. Christian and Jewish presses were established early and published continuously.
56. Ezel Kural Shaw notes that thousands of documents still rest in the Ottoman archives awaiting analysis by modern historians. See "The Double Veil: Travelers' Views of the Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries," in *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800*, ed. E.K. Shaw and C.J. Heywood (Los Angeles, CA: Wm. Andrews Clark Memorial Library, UCLA, 1972), p. 3.
57. "Native" informants included "dragomen," the interpreters who served official visitors and merchants in the capital and elsewhere, and Janissaries or other converts who spoke a European language.
58. See Edwin Gentzler's discussion of the work of Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere in *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 2nd ed. (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), pp. 194–95.
59. Gentzler thus describes Douglas Robinson's "dialogical" model of translation. Ibid., p. 189.
60. A Latin translation of Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa* was also published in 1556. Africanus's hybrid subjectivity and complex rhetoric have been investigated by Bernadette Andrea, "The Ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance," in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 195–215, and by Jonathan Burton," 'A Most Wily Bird': Leo Africanus, *Othello*, and the Trafficking in Difference," in *Postcolonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 43–63.

## Chapter 1 Preliminaries: Historicizing Rage and Representing Historical Speech

1. The importance of this construction of the New World and other "colonial" landscapes are discussed in seminal works, such as Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), and Jane Tompkins,

"Indians: Textualism, Morality and the Problem of History," *Critical Inquiry* 13, no.1 (1986): 101–19.

2. John Shute, trans., *Two very notable Commentaries* (London, 1562), fol. [19v].
3. See Patricia Parker, "Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk and its 'Pauline' Rerighting," *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2, no.1 (Spring/Summer 2002): 1–34.
4. J.H. Sanders, trans., *Tamerlane, or Timûr, the Great Amir* (1936, Reprint. Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976), p. 176. [Further references from this translation will be given parenthetically by page number.]
5. Nicholas N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish Theatre* (New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., [1933]), pp. 13, 19. The educated and powerful referred to themselves as "Osmanli" or "Osmalilar." See also Stanford J. Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis, The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*, vol. 1 of *History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–77), p. 113.
6. Douglas A. Brooks, " 'He Straight Ore Comes All Christian Provinces,' " paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Washington, DC, March 25–27, 1997.
7. C.A Patrides, " 'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126–35, esp. 130–31.
8. This is most obviously true when the word is "cited from another speaker whose tone is felt in it," but in a more basic sense, all words are dialogic since they come with layers of meaning, a history of previous usage, and so on; see Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 138.
9. Anthony Parr, *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press), p. 11.
10. Thomas Newton, trans., *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London, 1575), a translation of a 1567 Latin work by Caelius Augustinius Curio, fol. 85$^{r}$.
11. Ibid., fol. [144$^{v}$].
12. Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937; Reprint. New York: Octagon Press, 1965), p. 472.
13. Una Ellis Fermor, ed., *Tamburlaine, Parts 1 and 2* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), p. 144, note to 4.2.75.
14. *The Magi, Herod, and the Slaughter of the Innocents* in Joseph Quincy Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), ll. 158–166. [Further references to this edition will be given parenthetically by line number.]
15. As Chew has noted, several villains in these plays are made to refer to Islam; see *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 390 and 394.
16. Newton, *Notable Historie*, fol. [143$^{v}$].

17. [John Day and Thomas Dekker?], *The Tragical History, Admirable Achievements and various events of Guy Earl of Warwick* (London, 1661), sig. C4r. I cite the microform copy in the Lamont Library at Harvard University.
18. William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse of an admired and painefull Peregrination* (London, 1614), sig. K2r.
19. Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).
20. Thomas Goffe, *The Raging Turk: or Baiazet the Second* (London, 1631). Malone Society Reprint, David Carnegie ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1974]), TLN 1497. The claim of Herculean madness turns out to be mere pretense in this case.
21. All quotations from Shakespeare's plays are taken from G. Blakemore Evans, *et al.*, eds., *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).
22. James Craigie, ed., "The Lepanto," *The Poems of James VI of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1955), 1: 204 (ll. 53–54) and 234 (ll. 636–37).
23. Zachary Jones, trans., *The Historie of George Castriot Surnamed Scanderbeg . . . Newly translated out of French into English by Z.I. Gentleman* (London, 1596), p. 215.
24. I am indebted to Professor Maria Tatar, Department of German, Harvard University, for this translation. She was not able to make sense of "Hie vahet" which appears as "Hyē vahet" in some other early editions.
25. The title of the Hakluyt Society edition is an example of the subtly negative Victorian translations of eastern texts. The title of the 1473 edition refers to Schiltberger as one "who experienced many wonders [or marvelous things] in heathen lands and in Turkey." The 1879 translation omits any reference to "wonders" or "marvelous things," emphasizing instead the negative aspect of his odyssey: *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, J. Buchan Telfer, trans. (London, 1879). It also erases the implied distinction between "heathen lands" and Turkey itself, which included large Jewish and Christian communities and highly civilized cities. Other versions of the title in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries use the phrase "Ein wunderbarliche und kürtzweilige History" ("a strange [or wonderful] and amusing history") and also lack any negative reference to "bondage." [Further citations from this translation will be given parenthetically by page number.]
26. Ibid., p. xvii.
27. Henry V orders his men to kill all their prisoners during the Battle of Agincourt. In Holinshed, the justification for this action is military and practical: Henry fears a renewed assault and cannot spare men to guard the prisoners. In the play, Shakespeare offers this explanation (4.6.36–37), but he also emphasizes the king's rage at the killing of the "boys and the luggage" ("I was not angry since I came to

France/Until this instant," 4.7.55–56). Fluellen ascribes the king's order to his rage at this slaughter, and he justifies it as "most worthily" given (4.7.8–10).

28. Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).
29. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (1939), quoted in Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*, pp. 2–3.
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. Ibid., p. 5.
32. Quoted in Zouhair Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God to 'Forbearance' in Islamic Medieval Literature," in Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*, pp. 203–30, esp p. 228 n. 44.
33. Stanford J. Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*, p. 54. This work is the first volume of Shaw's *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–77).
34. Paolo Giovio, *Commentario delle cose de Turchi* (Rome, 1535), Peter Ashton, trans., *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546), fol. 22$^{r}$–22$^{v}$.
35. Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), p. 331. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.
36. Ibid, p. 330. Knolles follows closely the account in Marin Barleti's Latin life of Scanderbeg (1520) as translated by Zachary Jones (1597).
37. Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Tex Warner, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 24.
38. Quoted ibid., p. 5.
39. Nancy F. Partner, "Historicity in an Age of Reality-fictions," in *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 21–39, esp. 27–28.
40. John Shute, trans., *Two very notable Commentaries* (London, 1562). This phrase appears in the margins in the second commentary, *The warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg* (separately foliated), fol. 6r.
41. See *Orations: of Arsanes agaynst Philip the trecherous kyng of Macedone: of the embassadors of Venice against the Prince that under crafty league with Scanderbeg, layed snares for Christendome: and of Scanderbeg prayeng ayde of Christian Princes agaynst periurous murderyng Mahumet and agaynst the old false Christian Duke Mahumetes confederate: with a notable example of Gods vengeance against a faithless king, queen, and her children*, London [1560?], pp. [10]–[11]. The work relies upon Marcus Junianus Justinus, a third-century, Roman historian, whose "epitome" of a lost work on Phillip of Macedon and the Hellenistic period was extremely popular through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and upon Marin Barleti, *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis.* The author's phrase ("might aptly . . . have said") parallels Thucydides's "what . . . was

called for by each situation." Note that in the first oration it is the Greek, not the Persian, who is "treacherous."

42. See Katharine F. Pantzer, ed., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1475–1640*, first compiled by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave; revised and expanded by W.A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson; completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991) who suggest Norton as the possible author; see entry 785.5.
43. William Seaman, trans., *The Reign of Sultan Orchan*, (London, 1652), p. 101, heading and marginal note.
44. Thomas Goffe, *The Couragious Turk: or Amurath the First* (London, 1632), Malone Society Reprint, David Carnegie, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1974]), TLN 386–87.
45. See for example the description of the battle of Timūr and Bayazid:

> This Bajaceth now, like a good and like an expert captain, seeing that he no way else might resist this puissant . . . emperor, determined to meet him and to give him present battle, having marvelous affiance . . . in the approved . . . manhood and virtue of his soldiers. Wherefore marching on within a few days, they met each other upon the confines of Armenia, where both of them ordering as became good captains their people, began in the break of day the most cruel and most terrible battle that [on] earth was ever heard of.

[. . .]

> Thus continued they in fight even almost until night, with marvelous slaughter on both sides, the victory yet doubtful, till in the end the Turks began to faint and to flee, more indeed oppressed with the multitude than that they feared or otherwise, the most part of them with honour dying manfully in the field. And as one reporteth, two hundred thousand were taken prisoners after the battle was ended, the residue slain and fled for their better safety. Which Bajaceth, of part perceiving before the end how it would weigh, to [en]courage his people and to withdraw them from flight, resisted in person valiantly the furious rage of the enemy. Howbeit, he thereby gained such and so many knocks that as he was in the end indeed unhorsed, so was he for lack of rescue presented to the great Tamburlaine, who incontinently closed him up on a cage of iron, carrying him still . . . with him whithersoever he after went, pasturing . . . him with the crumbs that fell from his table, and with other bad morsels, as he had been a dog."

(*Sliva de Varia Lecíon*, trans. Thomas Fortescue as *The Forest or Collection of Histories* [London, 1571], in Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe The Plays and their Sources* [London: Routledge, 1994], p. 86).

46. Ibid., pp. 88–89.

47. Gerald Prince, "Narrativity," in Michael Groden and Martin Kreiswirth eds., *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 525.
48. Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, p. 166.
49. In Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe* p. 143.
50. Ibid., original brackets.
51. Ibid., p. 110, heading to chapter 10.
52. Ibid. Paolo Giovio's version in his *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (1551) is very similar both in the style and substance of the indirect quote; see the excerpt in Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 133.
53. Hugh Goughe, trans., *The horrible acte and wicked offence of Soltan Soliman* in *Ofspring of the house of Ottomano* (London, [1569–1570]), sig. Lv$^{r}$.
54. J. Hillis Miller, *Reading Narrative* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), pp. 166 and 168.
55. Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, p. 166.

## Chapter 2 Sixteenth-century Histories of the Turks: Shocking Speech and Edifying Dicta

1. For a general study of English readers' practices, see D.R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
2. Norman Jones, "The Adaptation of Tradition: The Image of the Turk in Protestant England," *East European Quarterly* 12, no.2 (1978): 161–175, esp. pp.163 and 168.
3. Ibid., p. 166.
4. Ibid., p. 167.
5. See for example, Daniel J. Vitkus's introduction to *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 3–4. Vitkus acknowledges that Ottoman military success against the Catholic powers was viewed by English Protestants as "not altogether negative" (7–8).
6. Brandon Beck, *From the Rising of the Sun: English Images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), p. 32.
7. Geuffroy is not listed in the *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. In other reference works he is described only as a "historian" and a "Chevalier de Saint–Jean-de-Jerusalem." There is no mention of his having been involved in diplomatic service; see Adolphe Rochas, *Biographie du Dauphiné*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charavay, 1856–1860), 1: 451, 352. In a Latin preface to the second edition of this work, however, his friend Ioannes Quintinus Haeduus, asserts that he and

Geuffroy lived together among the Ottomans ("*viximus inter allas annis aliquot*"); see *Briefue description de la court du Grant Turc et ung sommaire du regne des Othmans avec un abregé de leurs folles superstitions . . . par F. Antoine Geuffroy* (Paris, 1546), sig. [aii$^{v}$]). I cite the copy in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

8. For example, he inserts phrases such as "As much as I have seen and known . . ." ([lxvii], wrongly numbered "lix" in the original), "which . . . I have seen them do often times" (lxv), and "which I have seen them use" (lx). I cite the microform copy in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. [Future references to the 1542 edition will be given parenthetically by page number.]
9. Haeduus quotes his own rhetorical question: "I often answered Geuffroy (when he spoke to me about the Turks): Who shall pleasantly describe the nature of a rabid dog that is already biting me, Geuffroy? . . . No narrative concerning [the Turks] is pleasant to me" (1546 ed., sig. aiii$^{r}$). Geuffroy responds that he was "vexed" at the publication of a work he had written for the "pleasure" of their mutual friend, and (perhaps also humorously) he retorts that the blame for any shortcomings of the unauthorized edition falls on Haeduus, who published it "headlong," without his assistance or permission (1546 ed., sig. [aiii$^{v}$]).
10. Geuffroy acknowledges that the Turks "worship one only God, which made heaven and earth, and sent them their law by the Prophet Mahomet" (lii). They reverence Jesus and Mary, they keep two "Lents" or periods of fasting, and they recite the "Pater Noster…translated into the Arabic tongue almost word for word" (lvii–lviii).
11. For example, the common people are a "heavy, gross, sluggish, rechless [heedless], and vile people, and commonly gluttons" ([lxvii], misnumbered "lix" in the original). While later writers praise the Turks' warlike nature and abstemious ways, Geuffroy reports they are "greatly inclined" to riot and "go not to war but by force and beatings" (lxviii).
12. Wrongly numbered "cxlvii" in the original; *two* previous pages are numbered "cxlvi."
13. Matthew Dimmock mistakenly ascribes this passage to Geuffroy rather than to Grafton and as a result obscures the distinction between the relatively tolerant attitude of continental writers and the militancy of their English Protestant translators; see *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 42–43.
14. The words dangerous to be spoken are those on which Islamic law is founded: "God is God, was, and shall be God, and Mohamet is his messenger" (liii).
15. A final section, "The Doctrine of Mahumet" may have been added by Grafton himself. I have not been able to consult the first French edition, but this section does not appear in the "expanded and enlarged" edition of 1546. Geuffroy explains in his preface to the second edition

that he "cut certain things out" and added "a few silly things," notably a long rehearsal of Mohammed's "ridiculous dreams" (1546 ed., sig. aiiii$^{r}$). Whether by Geuffroy or Grafton, this section also entertains extremes: some Muslim beliefs are "mad" and "worthy to be abhorred," while others are "so like Moses's law and the evangelical doctrine that you would judge them to have been derived of . . . heavenly oracles" (cxlix). However, because they reject Christ as the foundation of their law, Muslims are "in danger of most grievous damnation" and "throw themselves headlong . . . into eternal death, into the hell-pit of horrible calamity" (clii–cliii).

16. Peter Ashton, trans., *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546), fol. [cxxxii$^{v}$]. I cite the copy in Houghton Library at Harvard University. [Future references will be given parenthetically by folio number.]
17. D.K. Money, "Ashton, Peter," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). A prebendary is a member of a Cathedral or collegiate church who occasionally officiates at services.
18. Dimmock ascribes this passage to Giovio (*New Turkes*, pp. 42–43), but the preface is clearly Ashton's. He refers to "this simple translation" and to his addition of marginalia (sig. *v$^{r}$). Once again, it is important to distinguish between the voices of the Catholic author and the Protestant translator.
19. There are no marginal comments in the original Italian edition.
20. Johan Cuspinian, *De Turcorum origine, religione, ac immanissimo . . . tyrranide*, Antwerp, 1541. The full title (translated) reads: Concerning the origins and religion of the Turks, and their inhuman tyranny in Christian [lands] and the means by which the Christian princes may easily invade and overthrow the Turks.
21. John Shute, trans., *Two very notable Commentaries. The one of the originall of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno written by Andrewe Cambine, and thother of the warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg . . . translated oute of Italian into English by John Shute* (London, 1562). I cite the microfrm copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. [Future references will be given parenthetically by folio number.]
22. Quoted in E. Lord, "Shute, John," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
23. On the importance of this aspect of British history to the later empire, see Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of English Literature, 1580–1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. i.
24. Wrongly numbered "41" in the original.
25. Wrongly numbered "43" in the original.
26. Wrongly numbered "43" in the original.
27. Wrongly numbered "41" in the original.

28. The Library of Congress dates it at 1520, but other authorities suggest between 1506 and 1515. Barleti died ca.1512.
29. Ashton's marginal addition appears on fol. 22r, and he credits his source: "[as] Marinus Barletius writeth. xiii books."
30. Zachary Jones, trans., *The History of George Castriot Surnamed Scanderbeg . . . Newly translated out of French into English by Z.I. Gentleman* (London, 1596). I cite the electronic copy in *Early English Books Online.*
31. For example, Giovio speaks favorably of Selim's brothers, the Persian Sophy Ismael, and the Egyptian Sultan, Tomumbeius, all of whom Selim defeated and many of whom died by his orders.
32. This would seem to dispute Samuel C. Chew's assertion that these qualities of Selim were unknown in the west; see *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937; Reprint. New York: Octagon Press, 1965), p. 490 n.2.
33. These pages are wrongly numbered "cxlvii" and "cxlviii" in the original.
34. Thomas Newton, trans., *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London, 1575), fol. [95v]. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
35. Bonfini died in 1502. He was seventeen when the Battle of Varna was fought (1444). His work was published in 1543 in Basle and appeared in four editions before 1606.
36. Richard Knolles' translation as excerpted in Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: the Plays and their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 149.
37. Ibid., p. 150.
38. Cambini reports that his source was one of the merchants who "had of the same silks to Florence two fardels" (fol. [68v]).
39. There are several wrongly numbered folios in this portion of the text; fol. [45r ] (sig. Mii$^{r}$) is the second of two recto pages numbered "41" in the original.
40 The verso of wrongly numbered fol. "41" (sig. Mii$^{v}$).
41. Ibid.
42. The town had been abandoned by its regional governor and was thus a tempting prize for its Christian neighbors:

> With much ado, they agreed that the town should be delivered into the Duke's hands, upon condition that the king should safely set them in Grecia, with all the substance and artillery that they presently possessed there, and in this sort the peace was made, and the performances of the promise confirmed by oath. . . . [But when] the Turks delivered the town . . . contrary to all promise, [the Duke] held all the chief of the Turks prisoners, and put a great number of the soldiers into the galleys, and held them of force all. (fol. [37v]–38r).

43. The recto of wrongly numbered fol. “41” (sig. Mii[r]).
44. This page is wrongly numbered “cxl” in the original.
45. *Commentarie of the warres of the Turckes made against George Scanderbeg, Prince of Epiro* in Shute’s *Two notable Commentaries*, paginated separately. Future references to this translation will be cited parenthetically by signature or folio number. Shute says that this text was “written in Italian, by whom I know not, for that the name of the author is suppressed” (sig. *ii[r]).
46. “When Scanderbeg had read the letter, . . . he made him [the ambassador] to be entertained very honorably.” (fol. 8r).
47. My text is *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. S.R. Cattley and George Townsend (London, 1887), 4: 19–122. [Further references will be cited parenthetically from vol. 4 by page number.]
48. Foxe lists his sources on p. 79. Like Knolles, he relies on Chalkokondyles, Antonius Sabellicus, Marin Barleti, Leonardus Chiensis (Byzantine Archbishop of Mitylene), and Sebastian Munster (a Hebrew scholar and cosmographer). He also lists and specificially cites sources not listed by Knolles, such as Nicolas à Moffan, Bartolomeus Georgieviz, Johannes Ramus, legal scholar and Protestant martyr (38), Johannes Ziegler (40), a French treatise on Ottoman customs (48), and John Faber’s oration to Henry VIII (82).
49. William Brown, “Marlowe’s Debasement of Bajazeth: Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part 1*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 24 (1971): 38–48, esp. p. 41.
50. Foxe cites Book 10 of Chalkokondyles as his source for this story.
51. For example, Foxe quotes indirectly two soldiers debating whether a Christian would be damned as a suicide if he threw his arms around a Turkish soldier and leapt from the battlements. They agree that he would “be saved without doubt” if by that act “he saved . . . the life of all the city” (41).
52. “[W]hen the mother of the child understood [what was to happen], she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face” (37).

## CHAPTER 3 MARLOWE’S TURKS

1. To cite just a few: Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) analyzes the play as an early instance of Britain’s nascent “imperialist self-construction” (p. 54); Jonathan Burton, “Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, no.1 (Winter 2000): 125–56, focuses on the reflection of contemporary trading interests on the attitudes toward Tamburlaine in parts 1 and 2; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural*

*Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) discusses the play's mockery of "the discourses of providentialism, prophecy, and holy war" prominent during the Reformation (p. 64); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), argues that the play "exploits proto-orientalist division in order to conceive a single world of excited desire" (p. 61); and Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), stresses the treatment of Islam in the play, its original manipulation of traditional elements of the story, and its anachronistic but purposive references to contemporary events and issues relevant to Anglo-Ottoman relations (pp. 135–61).

2. Joseph Q. Adams, Jr., ed., *John Mason's* "*The Turke*", in W. Bang ed., *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, (1913; Reprint. Vaduz: Krause, 1963), p. xv.
3. Ibid., pp. xv–xvi.
4. The writers of the Ottoman histories I have read do not describe the Turks as dark-skinned or as racially different from Europeans. Geuffroy, the only exception, describes Suleyman's "visage [as] brown and wrythen [wrinkled or contorted?]" (Richard Grafton, trans., *The Conquestes or Victories of the Turckes* in *The order of the greate Turckes courte* (London, [1542]) p. lxxii). According to Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, however, the sultan suffered from a skin disease, which may account for the adjective (Edward Seymour Forster, trans., *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562.* [1927. Reprint. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968], pp. 65–66.) A series of portraits by Theodore de Bry in Boissard's *Vitae et icones sultanorum* (Frankfort, 1560) depicts the Turkish rulers as "fair-skinned," although the rulers of the Barbary States are depicted as "very dark" (Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* New York: Oxford University Press, 1937; Reprint. New York: Octagon Press, 1965, p. 521). George Sandys describes Turkish men as "well complexioned" and the women as "ruddy, clear, and smooth as the polished Ivory"; they dye their eyebrows and hair black "as a foil that maketh the white seem whiter" (*A Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* [London, 1615], pp. 63 and 67–68). The "swarthy Turk" is an entirely modern construction.
5. An anonymous Latin play, *Solymannidae tragoedia* (ms, ca. 1582), preceded Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, but there is no evidence of a public performance. A lost play, performed on February 14, 1580 and known by the partial title, *The History of the Soldan and the Duke of______* in the Revels accounts, may have portrayed an Ottoman sultan, but "Soldan" was a generic title that could have denoted a Saracen or other Muslim figure.

6. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 13.
7. See Adam Knobler, "The Rise of Tīmūr and Western Diplomatic Response, 1390–1405," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 5, no. 3 (November 1995): 341–49, esp. pp. 343–44. I am indebted to Prof. Joseph Khoury for referring me to this article.
8. The Ottoman "law of succession" prescribed the elimination of rivals for the throne once a new sultan was chosen. Consequently, many sultans were presented in the west as fratricides.
9. Excerpts from fourteen of them have been collected and published by Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994). Where possible, I will cite the excerpts from this collection.
10. Ibid., p. 125.
11. Ibid., pp. 132–33.
12. Perondinus's version of this anecdote is discussed in chapter 1.
13. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 133.
14. Giovio describes Timūr as "like a whirlwind taking up great Bajazet away" and carrying him about "for his disport and play":

    But whilst he rageth thus about and plotteth in his head
    Such hard commands and heavy dooms as all the world should dread,
    A little fever in three fits oppressed him with woe,
    And closing up his vital spirits did lay his head full low.
    (ibid., p. 134)

15. Ibid., p. 86.
16. Ibid., p. 87.
17. Ibid., p. 93.
18. Ibid., p. 91. Whetstone contrasts Timūr's "fury" with a wise quotation from William the Conqueror, who commanded that the English be treated kindly:" 'for,' quoth he, 'though they obey me, I must reign by them' " (p. 91).
19. Ibid., p. 94.
20. George Whetstone, *The English Myrror . . . wherein al estates may behold the Conquests of Envy* (London, 1586), sig. [E4r]. This passage is not included in Thomas and Tydeman. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.
21. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 94.
22. Ibid., p. 94.
23. Ibid., p. 141.
24. Ibid., p. 141.
25. Peter Ashton, trans., *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546), fol. vii$^{r}$. This portion of Giovio's text is not excerpted in Thomas and Tydeman. I cite the microform copy of the original in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

26. Antoine Geuffroy reports that several nobles were "taken to Bursa," and "all the rest were slain," but he offers no details or commentary; see Grafton, *Great Turkes courte*, p. [lxxxxii], wrongly numbered "Cii" in the original.
27. John Shute, trans., *Two very notable Commentaries* (London, 1562), fol. [2v]. This passage is not included in Thomas and Tydeman.
28. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, pp. 127–31.
29. Ibid., p. 127.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 126.
32. Ibid., p. 128.
33. Ibid., p. 131.
34. See the headnote to the excerpt in Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 97. Perondinus is the first of these sources to claim that the Byzantine Emperor offered the Empire to Timūr to prevent the success of the Ottoman siege.
35. Ibid., p. 103.
36. Ibid., p. 105.
37. Ibid., p. 121.
38. Ibid., p. 104.
39. Ibid., p. 105–06.
40. Ibid., pp. 100, 114–15.
41. Ibid., p. 106.
42. Ibid., p. 107.
43. Ibid., p. 109.
44. Ibid., p. 110.
45. Ibid., pp. 116–17.
46. Ibid., p. 109.
47. Ibid., pp. 135–36.
48. William Brown, "Marlowe's Debasement of Bajazeth: Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part 1*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 24, no.1 (Spring 1971): 38–48, esp. p. 41.
49. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 136.
50. The only exception is the speech ascribed to Bayazid's ghost by Bishop, quoted earlier.
51. See also Chew, *Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 471–72.
52. Ibid., p. 472. For similar sentiments, see Ellis-Fermor, ed., *Tamburlaine the Great* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), pp. 23 n.4, 40, and 48.
53. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 76.
54. John D. Jump, ed., *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. xiii.
55. Süheyla Artemel, "The Popular Image of the Turk during the Renaissance in England," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5, no. 2 (1995): 188–208. Artemel views the play as combining the grotesque, sadistic, and the farcical with a "serious and at times dangerously radical thought" (p.198), but her emphasis is on the grotesque in the portrayal of Tamburlaine as well as Bajazeth.

56. Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, p. 72. After a subtle analysis of the shifting representation of Islam and of Tamburlaine's identity in Marlowe's two-part play, even Dimmock finds that the play displays a "uniform anti-Ottoman bias" and that Bajazeth, in particular, is "confined" to a "caricature" that mirrored and helped construct an anti-Ottoman stereotype (*New Turkes*, pp. 140 and 196).
57. See for example, 3.3.75–76, 3.3.195, 4.2.2. My text for the play is the New Mermaids edition, Anthony B. Dawson, ed., *Tamburlaine Parts One and Two*, 2nd ed. (London: A.C. Black, and New York: W.W. Norton, 1997). [Future references will be given parenthetically by act, scene, and line number.]
58. Zenocrate says that even if Mahomet came to tell her Tamburlaine had lost the battle, she would not believe him (3.3.208 ff.). As Tamburlaine is tormenting Bajazeth, Theridamas asks, " 'Dost thou think that Mahomet will suffer this?" and Techelles replies, " 'Tis like he will, when he cannot let it" (4.4.52–53). Techelles's tone (shock or cynicism) is open to interpretation, but his response implies the Prophet's powerlessness, which is perhaps not a pious Muslim sentiment.
59. See 3.3.44–60 and 3.3.195–200, 236–40. On the religious signifiers in the play, see Burton, "Anglo-Ottoman," pp. 141–42.
60. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness*, pp. 67 and 73–76.
61. On Marlowe's relocation of the decisive battle from Asia Minor to Africa, see Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in Renaissance Drama* (Tampa, FL: University of Southern Florida, 1991), pp. 46–47.
62. Our view of possible readings of *Tamburlaine* and of all Marlowe's plays is impoverished owing to the infrequency of modern performances.
63. Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine*, p. 144, note to 4.2.75.
64. Burton sees Bajazeth at the end as "no ranting tyrant but a broken man of ample nobility"; see "Anglo-Ottoman," p. 144.
65. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 109.
66. Ibid., p. 125.
67. Burton makes a similar point; see "Anglo-Ottoman," pp. 144, and 148, where Tamburlaine and his cohorts "out-'Turk' the Ottomans."
68. Orcanes vows: "First let thy Scythian horse tear both our limbs/Rather than we should draw thy chariot." 5.1.138–40.
69. Burton suggests that Tamburlaine's execution of Calyphas may be an allusion to the story of Suleyman and Mustapha (discussed in chapter 6), but this swift and voluntary act bears little resemblance to Suleyman's psychomachia and the intrigues of his wife and her confederate. Rather, as Burton also points out, Tamburlaine's act contrasts with the "sympathetic counter-example of . . . Olympia's desire to spare her son from Tamburlaine's cruelties" by killing him ("Anglo-Ottoman," p. 148).
70. Peter Berek, "Tamburlaine's Weak Sons," *Renaissance Drama* 13 (1982): 55–82, especially p. 58.

71. Peter Berek, "*Locrine* Revised," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 23 (1980): 33–54, shows that Humber, the invading "king of the Huns," and Albanact, the British champion, both adopt Tamburlainian rhetoric. In *The Battle of Alcazar*, he demonstrates, Tamburlaine's "overreaching ambitions and titanic rhetoric are divided among the Moor [the villain] and [Sir Thomas] Stukley" the nominal English hero ("Weak Sons," p. 66). Similarly, in *The Jew of Malta* both Barabas the Jew and his Turkish slave Ithamore echo Tamburlaine's rhetoric.
72. Mark Thornton Burnett, "Marlovian Imitation and Interpretation in Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London,*" *Cahiers Elizabétains* (October 1987): 75–91, esp. pp. 75–78.
73. On Shakespeare's "re-writings" of *Tamburlaine*, see James Shapiro, "Revisiting *Tamburlaine: Henry V* as Shakespeare's Belated Armada Play," *Criticism* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1989): 351–66, esp. pp. 359–62; A. Elizabeth Ross, "Hand-me-Down Heroics: Shakespeare's Retrospective of Popular Elizabethan Heroical Drama in *Henry V*," in John W. Velz ed., *Shakespeare's English Histories: A Quest for Form and Genre*, (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), pp. 171–203, esp. pp. 186–88; and Maurice Charney, "The Voice of Marlowe's Tamburlaine in Early Shakespeare," *Comparative Drama* 31 (Summer 1997): 213–23. All find that Tamburlaine is imitated by characters of diverse ethnicities, from Aaron the Moor and the King of Morocco to Richard III, Hotspur, Pistol, and Henry V.
74. Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 163 and 170.
75. I cite the Malone Society reprint, W.W. Greg, ed., *Alphonsus, King of Aragon, 1599* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), TLN 1851–59.
76. See my "Mapping the Ottomans on the Renaissance Stage," *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 (1996), 9–34.
77. Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* in *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) (sc.2.12–16).
78. For example:

    Then they established laws and holy rites
    To maintain peace, and govern bloody fights,
    Then some sage man, above the vulgar wise,
    Knowing that laws could not in quiet dwell
    Unless they were observed, did first devise
    The names of Gods, religion, heaven, and hell,
    And 'gan of pains, and feigned rewards, to tell.

    (Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays,* sc. 2.93–99)
79. Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 172.

80. See for example W.W. Greg, ed., *The Battle of Alcazar,1594*, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: The Chiswick Press,1907; Reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), TLN 57–58, 75–81, 108–10, 344–49.
81. See Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 119, 126.
82. Ibid., p. 182.
83. The manuscript resides in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry, 75, IX. I rely on the extracts and summary in George B. Churchill and Wolfgang Keller, "Die lateinishchen Universitäts-Dramen Englander in der Zeit der Königin Elisabeth." *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* (Berlin) 34 (1898): 247–50. I am grateful to Professor Ann Bergren, Department of Classics, UCLA, for help with translating the Latin extracts.
84. Its probable subject is the exploits of the Protestant János Zápolya, the Vayvode (or Governor) of Wallachia, who successfully allied himself with Suleyman to wrest control of Transylvania and Wallachia from the Emperor Ferdinand. If Zápolya is the hero, it is likely that his main ally would be viewed positively.
85. If so, he makes no reference to Selim II's sobriquet ("the Sot") both in Turkey and the west (see Stanford J. Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis, The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808.* Vol. 1 of *History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.* 2 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977], pp. 177–79).
86. I cite the Mermaid edition of Havelock Ellis, *Christopher Marlowe (Five Plays)* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959), 1.1, p. 201. [Future references will be given parenthetically by act, scene, and page number.]
87. For example, Mahmoud Rais sees Selim Calymath as "a noble, courteous, and wise prince" with "a sense of decorum"; see "The Representation of the Turk in English Renaissance Drama," PhD dissertation (Cornell University, 1973), p. 137. Robert Boerth observes: "Ironically, it is the Turkish Grand Seigneur and his son Selim Calymath, who do no not engage in the lies and deception that are so much a part of the fabric of Marlowe's drama" ("The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World on the Stage of Marlowe and Shakespeare," *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 [1996]: 55 n.23).
88. Shaw itemizes the measures taken by Suleyman's vizier in Egypt in 1525, which included restoring confiscated property, freeing debtors from prison, rebuilding homes and irrigation systems, awarding tax breaks to farmers, and establishing schools and charitable institutions; see *Empire of the Gazis*, pp. 89–90.
89. See Simon Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1986), pp. 170 and 173. Shepherd's later point (pp. 176–77), that treachery and cruelty are equated with "Turkishness" in the play (since the economic pressure arises from the demand for tribute) seems to contradict his previous analysis.

90. Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) 1:105–205. All further references are to volume 1 of this edition. I have silently modernized spelling and punctuation.
91. Probably a reference to Louis I, son of Charlemagne, who was twice deposed by his own sons.
92. *[First]King*: Accursed Queen of chance, what had we done, . . .
    Oh how have we offended thy proud eyes,
    That thus we should be spurn'd and trod upon,
    While those infected limbs of the sick world,
    Are fixed for stars in that bright sphere,
    Wherein our sunlike radiance did appear. (1.1.80–89)
93. Cf. *1 Tamburlaine*, 4.4.29–31, quoted earlier.
94. Chew, *Crescent and the Rose*, p. 470.
95. Richard Levin, "The Contemporary Perception of Marlowe's Tamburlaine," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 1 (1984): 51–70.
96. Ibid., pp. 53–63. Particularly interesting are allusions that conflate the two main characters (such as "Turkish *Tamberlaine*," quoted p. 53), and one that associates Tamburlaine with madness and rage ("dost stamp made [mad] Tamberlaine, dost stamp?" quoted, p. 63).
97. Quoted in Levin, "Contemporary Perception," p. 61.

## CHAPTER 4 "HISTORY WRITTEN BY THE ENEMY": EASTERN SOURCES ABOUT THE OTTOMANS

1. Remarks delivered by Nabil Matar at the Modern Language Association, "Women, Islam, and Empire," December 28, 2001, New Orleans, LA; Jonathan Burton and Virginia Mason Vaughan in a panel on "Theorizing Exchange," the Group for Early Modern Studies, November 14, 2002, in Tampa, FL; and by Burton in the seminar on "Foreign Exchanges on the Early Modern Stage," Shakespeare Association of America, April 10, 2003, in Victoria, BC. For Burton's further thoughts on the intricacies of cross-cultural exchange and the archive, see "Emplotting the Early Modern Mediterranean," in *Remapping the Mediterranean in Early Modern English Writing*, ed. Goran Stanivukovic (New York: Palgrave, 2007).
2. The claim, initially made by Bernard Lewis in *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1982), has been disputed by Bernadette Andrea in "Columbus in Istanbul: Ottoman Mappings of the New World," *Genre* 30 (1997): 135–65, esp. 153 and 157, and Ania Loomba, "The Gift: Material Exchange and Cultural Identities

in English Writing on the East," a paper delivered at the Shakespeare Association of America, Minneapolis, MN, March 22, 2002.

3. See, for example, Jonathan Burton, " 'A Most Wily Bird': Leo Africanus, *Othello*, and the Trafficking in Difference," in *Postcolonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), and Bernadette Andrea, "The Ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance," in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 195–215.
4. According to Ellis-Fermor, "the only one of Byzantines with whom there is any reason for thinking Marlowe was acquainted" is Chalkokondyles (*Tamburlaine The Great* [New York: Gordian Press, 1966], p. 24), and she finds no evidence they were known to the Italian historians (p. 23). Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: the Plays and their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), include Chalkokondyles's report of Timur's conversations with his wife as possibly having inspired the close relationship of Zenocrate and Tamburlaine, but the evidence of influence is slight.
5. See, for example, her comments on Tamburlaine: "His character as revealed by the Arab, Persian, and Syrian historianswas a strange mixture of oriental profusion and subtlety with barbarian cruelty" (*Tamburlaine*, p. 19); the Armenian monk Haytoun reveals in Tamburlaine "that blending of sensualism and cruelty with military genius, religious fervor, and courtesy . . . which only a man who had some knowledge of Oriental character could have produced" (Ibid., p. 27).
6. While scholars might have seen Chalkokondyles's history in manuscript as well as Clauser's Latin edition, the Greek text was not printed until 1615; see Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine*, p. 306.
7. The Latin title page is reasonably clear on this point, but Lewenklaw, who was an authority on Oriental languages and philology as well as history, has been credited with the translation as well; see "Leunclavius, Joannes," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1967–1971), 18: 488–93.
8. Zouhair Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God to 'Forbearance' in Islamic Medieval Literature," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 228.
9. Nicolaos Nicoloudis, trans., *Laonikos Chalkokondyles; A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories" (Books I-III)* (Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1996). In this bilingual edition the English appears on the odd pages only.
10. J. Chrysostomides, "Foreword," in Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 10.
11. Ibid.
12. Although his knowledge of Turkish was imperfect, Chalkokondyles apparently relied on Turkish histories, such as that of Ashikpashazade,

on Turkish epic traditions, and on Turkish informants encountered in his travels, which he supplements with Byzantine histories, such as that of Nikephoros Gregoras (Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, pp. 72–73, 171 n.94, 175 n.119).

13. Ibid., p. 81.
14. Ibid., p. 64.
15. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis, de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem* [The origin and warlike deeds of the Turks by Laonikos Chalkokondyles of Athens, in ten books], (Basle, 1556). [Further references will be given parenthetically by page signature.]
16. *L'histoire de la décadence de l'empire grec et l'establissement de celuy des Turcs* [The decadence (or decay) of the Greek empire and the establishment of that of the Turks], (Paris, 1577).
17. "Clauser, Konrad," *Deutsche Biographie*, 4: 285.
18. Thomas Newton, trans., *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London, 1575), fol. [119v].
19. See John Foxe, *The History and Tyranny of the Turks* in *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. S.R. Cattley and George Townsend (London, 1887), 4: 32–33, 82; George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London, 1615), p. 123; and Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), sig. [A6v].
20. I am grateful to Professor Çemal Kafadar, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, for confirming my inferences about Sadeddin, via e-mail, January 31, 2003. See also the entry for "Hoca S'ad al Din" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia*; and the listing for *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum* (1588) in *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent . . . in Cambridge Libraries*, comp. H.M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).
21. Sadeddin's life of Selim I was completed after his death in 1599 by his son Mehmed; thus, it was not available to Lewenklaw. See Stanford J. Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*, Vol. 1 of *History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977), p. 146. In addition to extracts from Sadeddin (and perhaps others) (which occupy pp. 1–95), the *Annales sultanorum* contains a *Supplementum* (pp. 96–184) that continues the account to 1587, and extensive endnotes entitled *Pandectes historiae Turcicae* (Encyclopaedia of Turkish history, pp. 185–482).
22. Çemal Kafadar, e-mail of January 31, 2003.
23. V. Brattuti, *Chronica dell' origine e progressi della casa Ottomana, composta da Saidino* [Chronicle of the origin and growth of the house of Ottoman, composed by Sadeddin], (Vienna, 1649).
24. *Histoire générale des Turcs contenant l'histoire de Chalcondyle . . . et la traduction des annals des Turcs . . . mise du latin en francois, par ledit Sieur de Mézeray* [General history of the Turks, containing the history

of Chalkokondyles . . . and the translation of the annals of the Turks . . . translated from Latin into French by the abovementioned M. de Mézeray], vol. 2 (Paris, 1662). This translation of the *Annales* is described in the Hollis Catalogue of Harvard as "abridged," but the abridgement occurred in Lewenklaw's apparatus, not in the annals themselves. The Latin text occupies 95 quarto pages, and the French translation a comparable 45 folio pages. [Further references to volume 2 of this edition will be given parenthetically by date and page number.]

25. "Leunclavius, Johannes," *Deutsche Biographie*, 18: 488. Lewenklaw's Catholicism is suggested by his interest in the lives of the saints, his trip to the Vatican (18: 491), and the support he received from the kings of Hungary.
26. Ibid., 18: 488.
27. Thomas Tomkis (or Tomkins), *Albumazar: A Comedy* (London, 1615).
28. Only one was translated into English: *The New History of Count Zozimus Sometime Advocate of the Treasury of the Roman Empire* (London, 1684).
29. *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae, libri xviii* [The Muslim histories of the Turks written from their own monuments (written records or annals) in eighteen books] (Frankfort, 1591).
30. Lewenklaw, *Annales sultanorum*, pp. 183–84. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. [Future references will be given parenthetically by page number].
31. "Golius, Jacob," *Deutsche Biographie*, 9: 343.
32. Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.)* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1952), p. 2.
33. Ibid., p. 2.
34. J.H. Sanders, trans., *Tamerlane or Timūr the Great Amir* (London: Luzac & Co., 1936; Reprint. Lahore, Pakistan: Progressive Books, 1976), p. 1. [All further citations from this edition will be given parenthetically by page number.]
35. The translator's initials may stand for Humphrey Mildmay, who died in 1613, and whose son Henry was a prominent courtier (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).
36. Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine*, p. 17 n. 2.
37. An early fragmentary version of their conversation, as well as the first mention of the iron cage, appears in Georgios Phrantzes' *Chronikon* (ca. 1468); see Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine*, pp. 24–25.
38. Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 88.
39. Frère Haytoun, *Les Fleurs des histoires de la terre Dorient* ([Paris], 150[1?]), sig. R2r.
40. All translations from the French editions are my own. Seventeenth-century French spelling has been preserved in citations from the originals.

41. *Advertissement au Lecteur* [Preface to the Reader] preceding Artus's continuation of the Turks' history in *L'histoire de la décadence de l'empire grec et establissement de celuy des Turcs / par Chalcondile Athenian; avec la Continuation de la mesme histoire depuis la ruine du Peloponese jusques a l'an 1612 par Thomas Artus* . . . (Paris, 1612), p. 100, paginated separately. Chalkokondyles's history was the centerpiece of several compendia of works about the Turks, often including Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations et peregrinations orientales de N. de Nicolay* (Lyons, 1568) and later the French translation of Lewenklaw's *Annales.* [Future references to the front matter of this edition will be given parenthetically, but portions of the apparatus paginated separately will be cited in these notes].
42. In his *Supplement*, Lewenklaw also stresses that he relies as much as possible on authorities with firsthand knowledge of the Turks. Schiltberger's memoir appears to have been one of them; see J. Buchan Telfer, trans., *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1879), p. xvii.
43. For example, in six of the first twenty-one notes to Book II, Nicoloudis comments on confusions, errors, or omissions in Chalkokondyles's account.
44. Artus, *Advertissement au Lecteur,* p. 100, paginated separately.
45. See "Golius, Jacob," *Deutsche Biographie*, 9:343.
46. Artus, *Advertissement au Lecteur,* p. 102, paginated separately.
47. Perondinus and Cambini also make this claim; see Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, pp. 122 and 131.
48. Ellis-Fermor concurs that this "myth" is based on a western misunderstanding of the significance of the Tartars' brightly colored tents, "half-camp, half-city" (*Tamburlaine*, p. 394, n. to line 16).
49. Artus, *Advertissement au Lecteur,* pp. 101–02, paginated separately.
50. From John Selden, *Table Talk, or the Discourses of John Selden*, quoted in Kenneth Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1992), p. 43. I have silently modernized spelling and punctuation. Selden died in 1654; the work was published by his secretary in 1689.
51. Artus, *Advertissement au Lecteur,* p. 100, paginated separately.
52. The essence of Sadeddin's account is supported by Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis*, pp. 48–49. De Mézeray's sarcastic comment on this passage, by contrast, charges Sadeddin with bad faith: "[These annals don't want to say that Murad twice laid siege to the city of Croye in Albania, under the invincible Scanderbeg, and being unable to take it the second time any more than the first, he died of rage.]" (1662 ed, p. 22, original brackets).
53. Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis*, p. 44.
54. Quoted in *Deutsche Biographie*, 18:489.

55. For example, "*Zelebi*," means "noble," and "*Emir*," means "superior Commander in chief" (1662 ed., p. 14), and "*cadi*" means "judge" (1662 ed., p. 6).
56. William Seaman, trans., *The Reign of Sultan Orchan* (London, 1652), sig. [A4v]. Seaman's partial translation of Sadeddin will be discussed in more detail in the Epilogue.
57. De Mézeray also comments ironically on the Turks' offhandedness regarding the names of the Byzantine rulers; they refer to them all as "Constantine" (1662 ed., p. 2, note b).
58. De Mézeray also writes that Selim I (who battled his brothers to gain the throne) executed "a poor Janissary, guilty of nothing save being the father-in-law of his brother Achmet" (1662 ed., p. 32). The 1588 edition refers more neutrally to "that Janissary" executed "on the grounds that he was Sultan Achmet's father-in-law" (p. 66).
59. For a more thorough discussion of the differences between the Latin and vernacular translations of these Eastern sources, and the vexed question of translation itself, see my "History Written by the Enemy: Eastern Sources about the Ottomans on the Continent and in England," *English Literary Renaissance* 36, no. 3.
60. There seems to be a typo or omission in the translation at this point. The threat that Murad articulates makes sense only if it reads "there will be no *end of* ill in store" for those who persist in rebellion. His offer of clemency applies only to those who come to their senses and rejoin him now.
61. Willis J. Monie, ed., *A Critical Edition of Robert Davenport's "The City Night-Cap"*(New York: Garland, 1979), p. 103 (TLN 2006–2007).
62. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 72 n. 58.
63. Nicoloudis, "Introduction," *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 80.
64. Those who are offended by the mention of women are later identified as the "Jagatais—nay all the tribes of the Turks" (Sanders, *Tamerlane*, pp. 188–89), but the term would seem to include Timūr as well.
65. Chalkokondyles's version is close to that of Phrantzes, in the *Chronikon Minor* ca.1468, and the "Pseudo- Phrantzes" (the *Chronikon Major*). Ellis-Fermor quotes Greek passage in which Bayazid says:

    > I saw well that for one who is a wild Scythian and of an unseeming descent, that royal preparations are not to his liking, . . . I, however, as a son of Murad, and grandson of Orchan, and great-grandson of Ertogules, should have had and been given much more (*Tamburlaine*, p. 24).

    I am grateful to Phivos Kimonis for this translation.
66. Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine*, p. 25.
67. The Latin reads:

    > Mi, chan, ait, si tua situm esset in potestate, mecum ut ageres pro libitu tuo: quid obsecro de me faceres? Age, veritatem dicito. Tum

Gilderun Chan, quem ferocis et iracundi animi hominem fuisse accepimus, non sine bile respondisse fertur: Equidem te, si fortuna propitia meam in potestatem venisses, ferrea conclusum caveae mecum hinc inde circumduxissem. Quo Temir audixit, mox e ferro caveam parati iusset: et in eam carceris loco Baiasitem inclusit. Secundum haec, permissa militi licentia per universam regionem hinc se diffundendi, atque omnia rapinis vastandi (*Annales* 24–25).

68. Sadeddin reports that whenever Timūr moved his camp, he would (with seeming solicitousness) ask Bayazid how he was feeling and if he were not sad (*Annales* 25).
69. For example, Timūr is "very friendly to the good, and furious to the bad" (3, margin), lacking in "insolence" (15), a "lover of justice" (17, margin), and "merciful" (156, margin). Du Bec also indirectly quotes Timūr regarding the casualties of a particular battle: "That for his part such tokens of victory were sorrowful unto his heart" (13). The quotation parallels that attributed by several historians to Murad II after the battle of Varna.
70. Du Bec's overall chronology conflicts with that in other eastern and western accounts. He places the conquest of China early in Timūr's career (pp. 21–65), whereas in other accounts Timūr sets out to conquer China only after the defeat of Bayazid, and he dies during the campaign.
71. Joseph von Hammer, trans., *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . . of Evilya Effendi*, 2 vols. (London: William H. Allen for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1846).
72. Jerome Wright Clinton, "The Ottoman Empire: Çelebi's *Book of Travels*," in *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, Expanded Edition, 2 vols., ed. Maynard Mack, Jerome Wright Clinton, Robert Lyons Danly, Kenneth Douglas, Howard E. Hugo, F. Abida Irele et al. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1995), 1: 276.
73. Çelebi's father was "the chief jeweler of the court" (Ibid., p. 275).
74. Von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels*, 1: 27, parentheses original.
75. Ibid., 1: 31.
76. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 5 CITING "THE TURKES' OWN CHRONICLES": KNOLLES' *GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TURKES*

1. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. [Future references will be given parenthetically by page number.]
2. I am grateful to Professor Greg Bak for information on the physical state of the extant copies via his comments on a paper I delivered at the Northeast British Studies Conference, Tufts University, November 14, 2003.

3. Paul Rycaut, a former ambassador to the Ottomans, was not happy with his publisher's decision to append his work to that of an "old, obsolete author" (quoted in Brandon Beck, *From the Rising of the Sun* [New York: Peter Lang, 1987], p. 88). However, Knolles' work continued to be read and admired by men of letters including Samuel Johnson, Robert Southey, and Byron; see Christine Woodhead, "Knolles, Richard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
4. Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 16–17.
5. Nicolaos Nicoloudis, "Introduction," *Laonikos Chalkokondyles; A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories" (Books I–III)* (Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1996), p. 85.
6. If Knolles had access to a translation of the Koran before 1603, it must have been via manuscript. William Bedwell's list of the suras in Latin (*Index Assuratarum . . . Alkorani*) was not published until 1615, and Alexander Ross's English translation did not appear until 1649; see Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 74–76.
7. The British made similar changes when they became an imperial power, such as the renaming of Irish towns dramatized in Brian Friel's *Translations* (1980).
8. Barleti (ca. 1460–1512) was only a child when Scanderbeg (1405–1468) was holding the Turks at bay in Epirus (in modern Albania). But since he was an Epriot living in Scoudra, "a city of the Venetians joining upon Epirus," Knolles gives his account credence (sig. [A6r]).
9. Sadeddin's account ends in 1550, and the works of Chalkokondyles, Arabshah, and du Bec cover events only up to the end of the fifteenth century.
10. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 79.
11. These details are reported in Johan Lewenklaw, trans., *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum* (Frankfort, 1588), p. 21.
12. See Lewenklaw, *Annales*, pp. 18–20; Knolles follows the Latin almost word for word, adding only the phrase describing corruption as "the canker of great states."
13. Alpay Kabacali, *Nasreddin Hodja* (Istanbul: Net Turistik Yayinlar, 1992), p. 5.
14. Sadeddin reports that Murad's generals determined on and carried out the execution of the rival prince when they selected Bayazid to succeed his father; see Lewenklaw, *Annales*, p. 16. Chalkokondyles, like the Italian historians, attributes the execution to Bayazid himself; see Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 179.

15. See the discussion in chapter 1 of Johan Schiltberger's eyewitness account in J. Buchan Telfer, trans., *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, (London, 1879), pp. 4–5.
16. "Neither was proud Baiazet . . . in the meantime idle" (Knolles, *Generall Historie* p. 211); "*Ab altere parte ne Gilderun quidem Chan otiosus erat*" ("For his part neither was this Gilderun Chan idle," *Annales*, p. 23).
17. See Jean du Bec, *The Historie of the Great Emperour Tamerlan . . . Drawen from the auncient Monuments of the Arabians* (London, 1597), pp. 119–20.
18. Chalkokondyles ascribes Orthobules's death to Timūr and quotes Bayazid's lament. See Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 309 and 311. Bayazid's words are quoted by Lewenklaw in his endnotes (p. 271 n.51), but they do not appear in the text of the *Annales.* In a characteristic contrast, John Foxe ascribes Orthobules's death to Timūr, but he omits the sympathetic quotation, and he justifies Timūr's action by describing it as revenge for similar cruelty on Bayazid's part; see *The History and Tyranny of the Turks* in *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. S.R. Cattley and George Townsend (London, 1887), 4:28.
19. Chalkokondyles cites Bayazid's refusal to be cowed by the number of Timūr's soldiers and his rejection of good advice (Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, pp. 315–319). Arabshah, by contrast, reports Bayazid accepted unsound (though moral) counsel: namely to march his troops around populated areas and thus to spare his own people from having to feed the army. As a result his troops were weak and tired when they encountered Timūr's, who had fed freely off the people's crops; see J.H. Sanders, trans., *Tamerlane, or Timûr, the Great Amir* (London: Luzac & Co., 1936; Reprint. Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976), pp. 180–81.
20. While there is no comparable passage in the *Annales*, Chalkokondyles stresses the results of Bayazid's reluctance to reward his troops before the fateful battle with Timūr. One of his advisors recommends that he "hand over [his] treasures to the troops" immediately, both to inspire them to fight hard after their exhausting march and to keep Ottoman wealth from falling into the enemies' hands unused should the battle be lost. Bayazid refuses: "He claimed that the money had been marked with Timur's seal" and disdained to pay his troops with the enemy's coin (Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 319). Chalkokondyles' word choice ("claimed") suggests that Bayazid's refusal was really based on a lack of liberality, which worked against him in this instance.
21. Cf. du Bec, *Historie*, p. 125.
22. Ibid. Chalkokondyles' question is the same, but Bayazid's answer is different: "Bayazid replied that he would not have reached this point had Timur not caused him so much trouble and often encouraged

Mohammed's hostile nations" (Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, p. 325).

23. After taking Sebastia, Richard Knolles writes, "(as the Turks report) [Timūr] commanded a great number of deep pits to be digged," wherein the entire population "without respect of age, sex, or condition" were thrown and "buried quick [alive]" (*The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, London, 1603), p. 216.
24. Cf. Lewenklaw, *Annales*, pp. 24–25.
25. Cf. du Bec, *Historie*, p. 126.
26. For the poison story, Knolles may be relying on Lewenklaw's *Historiae Musulmanae* or another source unknown to me.
27. Joseph von Hammer, trans., *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . . of Evilya Effendi*, 2 vols. (London: William H. Allen for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1846), 1: 28. [Further references to volume 1 of this work will be given parenthetically by page number.]
28. Giovanni Antonio Menavino's account, *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi* [Treatise on the customs and life of Turkey] (Florence, 1548), also circulated in the Latin compendium of Philipp Lonicer (Lonicerus), *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (Frankfort, 1578). Knolles refers to the author as "Antonius Ultrius."
29. Foxe's summary reads as follows:

    > After the captivity of Bajazet above-mentioned, histories diversely do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention that all of Calepine, only make mention of the sons of Bajazet, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahomet. The Latin stories, writing of the children of Bajazet and of their successors, do not therein agree; some affirming that Bajazet had two sons, Orchan, surnamed Calepine, and Mahomet, his brother, who within two years slew said Calepine, and entered his dominion. Others attribute to Bajazet more sons, as is above-rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazet only these two sons, Calepine and Mustapha; and hold that Calepine or Celebine had two sons; to wit, Orchan and Mahomet, and add, moreover, that the said Orchan, being somewhat young, was slain by his uncle Moses, who governed but two years: for Mahomet, to revenge his brother's death, slew Moses and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchan. (*History*, 4: 30)

30. The Latin reads:

    > Nulla mihi ditione opus est, mi frater, ait. Statimque facta cessione, quam a patre ditionem acceperat Vrchani Gazi fratri sponte tradidit et commendavit. Certabant id temporis fratres inter se mutuis officiis et honorem alter alteri deferebat. [I have no need, my brother, he said, for authority. And immediately after this renunciation, he willingly handed over to his brother Orchan the

> authority received from his father and commended him. At that time the brothers were rivals in mutual commendation and one would honor the other above himself]. (*Annales*, p. 6)

31. The Latin reads:

> Erant eius aetatis homines ita comparati, ut frater consilia sua cum fratre communicaret: quicq[ue]; rectissime consuluisset, in eius sententiam lubenter alter ibat. Nulli mutuis se paricidiis fratres e medio sustulerunt ante Baiasitis Chanis imperium. (*Annales*, p.7)

32. See also the view of Çelebi quoted at the end of this chapter. If it is in fact a translator's addition (which also seems possible), it is one of the few times where such a comment is blended into the narrative of the *Annales* rather than being bracketed or relegated to the endnotes.
33. De Mézeray's text reads: "En ce temps là, les frères s'assistoient cordialement, . . . et avoient du respect et de l'affection les uns pour les autres [In that time the brothers helped each other cordially . . . and had respect one for the other]." In the margin he writes: "Les Princes Turcs ne tuoient point les frères. Bajazet commença [The Turkish princes did not use to kill each other. Bajazet began it]," 1662 ed., p. 4).
34. Jonathan Burton encourages such comparison as an alternative to replacing one positivist, ethnocentric history or master narrative with another. See "Emplotting the Early Modern Mediterranean," in *Remapping the World in Early Modern English Writing*, ed. Goran Stanivukovic (New York: Palgrave, 2007).
35. Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, p. 18.
36. Ibid., pp. 17–18.

## Chapter 6 Horrible Acts and Wicked Offenses: Suleyman and Mustapha in Narrative and Drama

1. This is only one of this repellent play's departures from history; most historians viewed Bayazid II sympathetically, especially toward the end of his career as he attempted to manage the succession and the ambitions of his three surviving sons.
2. For contrasting estimations of *1 Selimus*, see Daniel J. Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 16–23, my "Mapping the Ottomans on the Renaissance Stage," *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 (1996), 9–34, esp. pp. 20–24, and Mathew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 170–77.
3. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Four Epistles of A.G. Busbecquius Concerning his Embassy into Turkey* (London, 1694), p. 100. I rely on

this edition as the closest contemporary translation of Busbecq's Latin. [Further references will be given parenthetically by page number.]

4. Peter Ashton, trans., *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546), fol. [cxv$^{v}$].
5. Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of The Turkes* (London, 1603), p. 823.
6. On the evolution and political power of this position in the Ottoman court, see Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. "The *Valide Sultan*: Mentor and Guardian," pp. 236–41.
7. One edition has a foreword by Philip Mansel (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2001), and another has a foreword by Karl A. Roider (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2005). Both reprint the translation of Edward Seymour Forster, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; Reprint. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
8. Busbecq writes that in the sultan's court "dignities, honours, offices, etc., are the rewards of virtue and merit," "[b]ut we Christians, to our shame be it spoken, live at another manner of rate; virtue is little esteemed among us, but nobleness of birth (forsooth) carries away all the honour and preferment." (*Four Epistles*, p. 94). Busbecq's interest in preferment was doubtless heightened by the facts of his own birth: the natural son of an aristocrat, he was legitimized by Charles V in 1549 at the age of 27; see Roider's foreword, *Turkish Letters* (2005), p. viii. Interestingly, however, the intensifiers that often appear in such sensitive passages in the 1694 edition (such as "forsooth" above) do not appear in the modern edition of Forster. Contrary to expectation, the seventeenth-century translator seems to have been particularly receptive to Busbecq's candid critiques of European culture.
9. For example, whereas most versions idealize Mustapha as the perfect prince and obedient son, Busbecq remains objective regarding his motives. Suleyman "disturbed" by the false allegations circulated by Rustan, demands that Mustapha come to him to answer the accusations:

   > Upon receipts of the letter, Mustapha was in great straits. If he should go to his father in such an angry mood, he ran upon his death; if he refused, that would be interpreted as a plain confession of the objected crimes. . . . [H]e resolved upon that course, which as it had more of resolution in it, so was fullest of danger. . . . This he did, either out of confidence of his own innnocency, or else presuming on the assistance of the army if any severity were meditated against him. (*Four Epistles*, pp. 48–49)

10. Goughe renders the full title as *The horrible act and wicked offence of Sultan Solyman, Emperour of the Turks, in murthering his eldest son Mustapha (Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno. . . .* [London,

1569–1570?], sig. Iv[r]). I cite the microform copy in the Houghton Library of Harvard University; future references will be given parenthetically by page signature.

11. The story, originally novel 34 in Painter's second volume (1567), appears as the "hundredth novell" in Hamish Miles, ed., *William Painter: The Palace of Pleasure* (London: The Cresset Press, 1929), 4: 200–15. Painter's introduction to the tale states that he first translated it "Twenty-two years past or thereabouts" (4: 200), i.e., before Gough's translation appeared, and Miles's introduction endorses this claim (p. xi). [Future references to this edition will be given parenthetically by page number].
12. Bullough reports that Knolles followed à Moffan and Goughe closely, "sometimes . . . word for word"; see Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *The Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 2: 18.
13. Bartholomeuz Georgieviz, a former captive like à Moffan, also writes critically of Mustapha, claiming that he surpassed his predecessors in "cruelty and tyranny" and that he would often lie "in wait for his father, if he might by any means kill or cause him to be slain"; see the second work in Goughe, *Ofspring*, sig. Eiv[r], paginated separately.
14. Knolles incorporated certain key details from Busbecq, namely that Rustan was later restored as vizier and that Achmat was treacherously slain (*Historie*, p. 765), but these are likewise used to increase the negative portrayal of Suleyman.
15. I rely on the summary and excerpts from British Museum MS Landsdowne 723 published by George B. Churchill and Wolfgang Keller in "Die lateinishchen Universitäts-Dramen Englander in der Zeit der Königin Elisabeth," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* (Berlin) 34 (1898): 221–64, esp. pp. 244–46. I am indebted to Professor Ann Bergren, Department of Classics, UCLA, for help with translating the Latin excerpts.
16. Churchill and Keller, "Universitäts-Dramen," p. 245. The German reads, "das Verbrechen der Königen gegen ihre Stiefkinder."
17. Churchill and Keller, "Universitäts-Dramen," pp. 245–46.
18. While misogyny clearly figures prominently in this version of the incident, in an earlier French drama, Khourrem was probably the center of even more negative attention. According to Bullough, *La Soltane*, or "The Sultanesse," a 1561 tragedy based on these same events by Gabriel Bounin, is heavily influenced by Seneca's *Medea*, which may suggest it presented an even more horrifying model of female power. See *Poems and Dramas*, 2: 20.
19. Greville revised the play more than once, as is shown by the differences between the extant manuscripts, the quarto, and the folio. See Joan Rees, ed., *The Selected Writings of Fulke Greville* (London: Athlone Press, 1973), pp. 15–16, and her notes to the play, esp. pp. 165 and 173, and Appendix 1, p. 177.

20. Lewenklaw's *Supplement* (98–99) provides the daughter's name (Chameria or, in Greville, Camena), which does not appear in à Moffan or any of the other sources. On Greville's use of the sources, see Bullough, *Poems and Dramas*, 2:19. Lewenklaw's version is briefer than à Moffan's and makes less use of dialogue. Like the dramatists, he puts the blame largely on Rossa's acting "*malis artibus*" ("by means of evil arts"), including sorcery.
21. See the entry for 1584 in the chronological table in Rees, *Selected Writings*, p. 11.
22. For a discussion the Persian plays of William Alexander and others, see my " 'Bringing in a Persian'," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 236–267, esp. pp. 248–51.
23. Bullough, *Poems and Dramas*, 2: 21–22.
24. All quotations are from Rees's *Selected Writings*, which hereafter will be cited parenthetically by act, scene, and line number. Both Rees's edition and Bullough's are based on the folio of 1633; Rees describes the quarto of 1609 as "pirated" and "unauthorized" (p. 15).
25. The entire passage reads: "Yet you pure souls that Mahomet adore,/Read in these wounds my horror of his death,/And to the Christians carry thou it, breath" (5.4.100–02).
26. Rees, *Selected Writings*, p. 169.
27. Mahmoud Rais, "The Representation of the Turk in English Renaissance Drama," Ph.D. dissertation (Cornell University, 1973), p. 161.
28. See Rees's notes, *Selected Writings*, p. 172.
29. The revised passage reads:

    Vast superstition! Glorious style of weakness!
    Sprung from the deep disquiet of man's passion,
    To desolation and despair of nature:
    Thy texts bring princes' titles into question,
    Thy prophets set on work the sword of tyrants.
    They manacle sweet truth with their distinctions. (Cho.5.1–6)

    Mankind! Trust not these superstitious dreams,
    Fear's idols, pleasure's relics, sorrow's pleasures.
    They make the willful hearts their holy temples,
    The rebels unto government their martyrs
    No, thou child of false miracles begotten!
    False miracles, which are but ignorance of cause. (Cho.5.10–15)

30. Rees's notes include extracts from the earlier texts and contemporary notations in a copy of the folio in the Bibliotèque Nationale, which attest to the view that the original version was viewed as too "atheistical" to print unchanged; see *Selected Writings*, pp. 172–73.
31. For example, the final Chorus of Priests (*Chorus Sacerdotum*), he says, is meant "to embody the bewilderment of the Mahometan priests,

bred in a false religion that gives no answer to the fundamental question which oppresses them" (Bullough, *Poems and Dramas*, 2: 33–34).

32. Bullough, *Poems and Dramas*, 2: 34.
33. The central dramatic conflict of *Osmond* concerns the emperor's love for a beautiful captive, whom, as in Goffe's *The Couragious Turke*, he is persuaded to execute to show his mastery over love. See Allardyce Nicoll, ed., *The Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk, or The Noble Servant (1657) by Lodowick Carlell* (Waltham Saint Lawrence: The Golden Cockerel Press, 1926).
34. Kathleen M. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery* (Knoxville, TE: University of Tennessee Press, 1965), p. vii.
35. My text is William Smith Clark, II, ed., *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 1: 229–304. I have silently modernized spelling and punctuation. [All further citations to this edition will be given parenthetically by act, scene, and line number.] Pepys's allusion to the play is quoted in Clark's preface (1: 226).
36. Ibid., 1: 225.

## EPILOGUE AFTER KNOLLES: WILLIAM SEAMAN'S *THE REIGN OF SULTAN ORCHAN*

1. For biographical information on Seaman, I rely on the entry by Alastair Hamilton in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Seaman apparently spent about three years in Turkey; he was back at his rectorship by 1631.
2. William Seaman, *The Reign of Sultan Orchan, Second King of the Turks, Translated out of Hodja Effendi, an eminent Turkish Historian*, (London, 1652), sig. A1r. I cite the copy in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. [Future references will be given parenthetically by page signature or number.]
3. Knolles makes clear that he is following the Turkish chronicles regarding Orchan (*Generall Historie of the Turkes* [London, 1603], p. 179).
4. Seaman's work is longer than Knolles' account (approximately 20,000 versus 15,000 words) and includes incidents not found in the *Generall Historie*.
5. Literally, "one who hides (or hides from) the truth." In Muslim theology, Christians and Jews are "People of the Book" who worship the one true God, and thus are not "infidels," but as in Christendom, theology did not always govern popular practice.
6. This topos is also present in the taking of Eznike and Kemliyuk (*Orchan*, pp. 37 and 48).

7. See S.A. Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I," in S.M. Stern ed., *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 119–57, esp. 132–33.
8. Seaman corrects Knolles' error (*Orchan*, p. 5), but to help his readers follow his use of Turkish place names, he notes "in the margin what [Knolles] calleth them" (sig. [A5r]).
9. See F.M. Warren, "The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic," *PMLA* 29, no. 3 (1914): 341–58; Sharon Kinoshita, "Fraternizing with the Enemy": Christian-Saracen Relations in Raoul de Cambrai," in *L'Epopée romaine, I–II* eds. Gabriel Bianciotto and Claudio Galderisi (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2002), pp. 695–703, and Sharon Kinoshita, "The Romance of MiscegeNation: Negotiating Identities in *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*," in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern* eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 111–31.
10. Naturally, the differences between British and Ottoman customs governing royal marriage and the succession contributed to the Ottomans' greater success in this aspect.
11. In an interesting example of cross-cultural exchange, Sadeddin reports that felt caps and other wool garments were adopted by the Turks from "the clothing of the countries of Italy and Greece (having respect to the conveniency of the air of those parts)." Later, turbans became the norm, and the felt caps were reserved for the Janissaries only (*Orchan*, pp. 26 and 27).
12. Seaman's translation also notes the *timarots* (estates) given to soldiers, whose posterity enjoy them many generations later and a poplar tree planted by a holy man in Orchan's honor that "remain[s] there to this day" (ibid., pp. 44 and 118).
13. Seaman's translation cites the "passionate words" of Orchan's religiously inclined brother, Aladin:

    O poor King! A consuming Lord,
    Of kingdoms, treasures, state, art thou.
    Since in this world there is no stay:
    Desire it I, desire it thou. (Ibid., p. 23)

14. Seaman writes an entire paragraph on this work, which articulates a vision highly compatible with the western notion of the "Great Chain of Being" (see the marginal comment, ibid., pp. 85–86).
15. Imperial ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq reports that he resisted the "great honour and large rewards" conversion would bring, but he explains at length that most Turks (like most Christians of the day) considered the offer of conversion a duty and "the greatest charity": they hoped to save a soul otherwise destined for everlasting

destruction. See *The Four Epistles of A.G. Busbequius concerning his Embassy into Turkey* . . . (London, 1694), p. 187.

16. See for example, *A true relation of the murther of Osmond the great Turke*, 1622; *The strangling and death of the great Turke, and his two sonnes*, 1622; and *First from Constantinople showing the establishing of princely Amurath [IV]*, 1623.
17. Hamilton, "Seaman, William," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
18. Emily Bartels, "*Othello* and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (January 1997): 45–64, esp. p. 64.

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